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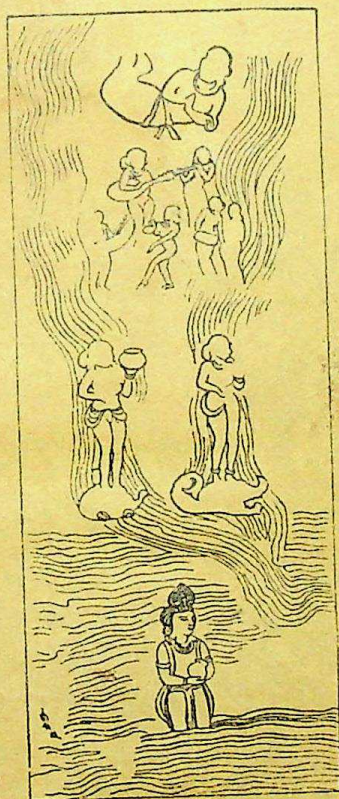
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THE BUDDHA AND THE BUDDHA - CONCEPT*

BY

DR. S. DUTT, M. A., Ph. D.

The scripture of early Buddhism is made up almost wholly of Buddha-legends. They offer the only raw materials available for the history of the Founder and the foundation of the religion. But these legends, voluminous as they are, professing to be records of the Lord's life and teachings, will open to us no historical perspective unless approached with an 'open sesame'. This 'open sesame' is the distinction between the Buddha and the Buddha-concept,—between the man and the object of a cult.

The discourse or the dialogue, which forms the kernel of a scriptural legend, is in theory the reported word of the Buddha (*Buddha-vacana*), with a few rare exceptions in which a direct disciple of the Lord is made to speak[1]. But, in point of fact, the legends were made by monks: they represent a kind of cloistered literary activity continued and carried on perhaps over several long centuries. Yet each legend is introduced with the formula—'So have I heard' '(*Evaṁ me sutaṁ*). Perhaps the making of legends in Buddhism started, as Rhys Davids believes, within half a century of the Lord's decease[2] and the *first* legend-makers

*From the author's forthcoming book entitled *The Buddha and Five After-Centuries*, to be published by the Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Dr. Dutt is the author of *Early Buddhist Monachism*.

(1) e.g , Anumāna Sutta (MN—No. 15) where Moggallāna speaks Mahā-vedalla Sutta (MN—No. 43) where Sāriputta speaks; Culla-vedalla Sutta (MN-44) where a Bhikkhunī named Dhammadinnā speaks, though the Lord is present and ratifies her speech.

(2) See Rhys Davids's 'Note on the Probable Age of the Dialogues' in *Dial*, pt. i, p. XIX.

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therefore might have actually heard what oral tradition of the time retained of the sayings and doings of a departed Teacher. But the formula in course of time became purely conventional, handed down from one generation of monks to the next as part of the technique of legend-making.

From the legends themselves it is evident that they represent a cult and that the making of the Buddha-legends started when a Buddha-cult had arisen. In them the Teacher's life and personality are viewed and set forth from the stand-point of the cult, and such of his sayings and doings, as tradition supplied, edited, remoulded also to a large extent, to conform to it. The Buddha who speaks in these legends is a conceptual Buddha, one reproduced by the makers of the legends, not from an historical imagination, but out of his own cult-ideas.

In the most ancient stratum of legends, he is set up as the Teacher (*Satthā*), in accordance with the dogma of the cult that the Lord, having received 'enlightenment' himself, decided, after a spell of doubt and hesitation, to share it, out of pure compassion (*karuṇā*), with makind. This compassionate Teacher of mankind, expounding his cult and its practice (*Dhamma-vinaya*), is the central figure of the earliest legends; he is a Concept, not a figure historically conceived.

The status and personality of this 'enlightened', 'compassionate' Teacher are defined by doctrine. Translated by virtue of his 'enlightenment' to a superior plane of being, he is a Superman (*Mahāpurisa*), distinguished by a superman's physiognomic marks (*Lakkhaṇa*), but he was born and he dwells among men, bound up in human relations. His basic humanity is never denied.

To take a typical legend from the canon: "*So have I heard*. The Lord was once staying at Nālandā in Pavārika's mango-grove. There came to him Kevaddha, a young householder, who bowed to him and took a seat on one side. So seated, Kevaddha said to the Lord: 'This Nalanda of ours, sir, is influential and prosperous, full of folk, crowded with

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people who are devoted to the Lord. If the Lord were to give a command to some brother to perform a miracle here, it would increase the faith of the people' [3]". The practice of miracles is condemned by the Lord in a discourse which the legend purports to report.

The inset picture is that of a Teacher who can be 'seen' and who can be 'heard'.

But this primitive conception of a human teacher yielded by slow degrees to a growing spirit of docetism which appeared at a somewhat early stage in the Buddhist faith. It issued finally in the contrary doctrine, held by the Mahāyāna Buddhists of a much later age, that the Lord had never a corporeal frame at all. The idea of 'seeing' and 'hearing' the Lord appeared to them fantastic and false and in the nature of blasphemy. The Religion itself was supposed to be his body. The Buddha of the Mahāyānist conception declares: "They who saw me by form and they who heard me by sound, they, engaged in false endeavours, will not see me" [4]. The custom of relic-worship of primitive Buddhism is, therefore, scouted and scoffed at. Seek for a relic of the Lord's body ?--says the Mahāyānist to the silly relic-hunter: "Expect rather a palm-fruit from a rose-apple tree, mango-blossoms from a date-palm and so forth, for how could a body yield a relic (*dhātu*) having neither blood nor bone ?" [5].

While docetism was growing in the religion, one leading

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(3) Kevaddha Sutta, DN,—Dial, pt. i., p. 276.
The Vajracchedika Sūtra in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, pt. 1, Buddhist, Texts from Japan, ed. by Max Muller, p. 43—
धर्मतो बुद्धो द्रष्टव्यो धर्मका हि नायकाः । . . . . . . ,

(4) ये मां रूपेण चाद्राक्षुर्ये मां घोषेण चान्वगुः। मिथ्या प्रहाण प्रसृता न मां द्रक्ष्यन्ति ते जनाः
(See translation In SBE, Vol. XIIX, Māhāyana Texts, pt. ii., pp. 140-141).

(5) Suv. p. 13—जम्बूस्तालफलं दद्यात् खर्जूरश्चाम्र मंजरीम् । etc.
Also *Ibid*, p. 15 अनस्थिरुधिरे काये कुतो धातुर्भविष्यति ॥

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conservative school of Buddhism,—the ancient Theravāda,—set its face firmly against the new-fangled doctrine. Its canon, which exists completely in its Pāli version, incorporates those legends in which the Lord figures only as the Superman, with one solitary, but important exception, viz., the *Mahapadāna Suttanta*, in which he is sublimated to a supramundane status. The School admits a Teacher who, born on earth and living on earth, founded the religion, and by his own peripatetic teachings propagated it among common people for a little over half a century. But the legends of the canon do not carry us farther than this in the way of the Teacher's personal history.

To extract this personal history out of the legends calls decidedly for a technique.

In 1875, the French savant, Senart, interpreted the Buddha-legends, with which he was mostly conversant in Mahāyānist versions, as a Sun-myth, in the trend of the comparative mythology popular in his day [6]. The theory was promptly assailed by Oldenberg in 1882 by a reconstruction of the 'Life of the Buddha' from Pāli sources [7]. Oldenberg's venture in speculative biography was perhaps too hasty, but the progress of research in the Pāli canon that has gone on since has brought into relief the fact that the legends point not to solar phenomena at all, but to the earthly career of a man. From the peculiar angle, however, from which that career is viewed i the legends, the theoretic Sun-myth is only replaced by an elaborate Man-myth, almost as elusive and teasing.

The question whether the disentanglement of the myth from the man is possible was taken up by Mrs. Rhys Davids, the doyenne of Pāli Buddhistic scholarship and she stressed

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(6) In his famous work, *Essai sur La Legende du Buddha*, published in Paris in 1875.

(7) *Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order* (translated from German into English by Hoey).

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the possibility of it with a passionate conviction in her last writings. The 'chaff of myth', in her opinion, could be winnowed from the wheat, and out of the residue, a 'real human Buddha story' constructed [8]. She had envisaged a sort of 'Higher Criticism' of the Pāli canon. But this 'higher criticism' was not followed up after her death in 1942 and its possibilities towards the reconstruction of a Buddha-life remain unascertained yet.

* * * * * *

Positing the Buddha of the cult, the legends insist that thuswise must he be known and contemplated by all his followers. Yet, implicit in them, there is a vague, nebulous sort of awareness of a Buddha 'out of the cult'. It appears at least in one legend in which the author passes from the subjective attitude towards the Lord to an objective presentation of him, showing how the Lord appeared to people outside the circle of his followers an devotees. The conceptual Buddha of the cult becomes a real man in the presentation.

This unique legend narrates what happened on the occasion of a visit paid by the Lord to the city of Champā [9]. A Brāhmaṇa admirer wished to take the opportunity for a personal contact with him, but was being dissuaded by his caste-people. The Brāhmaṇa, Soṇadaṇḍa by name, admonished them in a long exhortation,—for was not Gotama, after all, a very worthy person and what could be the harm or loss of dignity in calling upon a man of Gotama's standing? "Truly, sirs, the Venerable Gotama," says

(8) Here it is (in the Pāli Buddha-legends) that we must try to winnow wheat from chaff. It is a difficult task, but we must do it; else we come to wrong conclusion"—Introductory Note in Brewster's *Life of Gotama the Buddha* (Trubner's Oriental Series, 1926), p. XII. The attempt is made by herself in *Gotama the Man* (1928), *Manual of Buddhism* (1932), *Outlines of Buddhism* (1934) and several essays and articles.

(9) Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta, DN.

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Soṇadaṇḍa to this castemen, "is well-born on both sides, of pure descent through the father and the mother........... with no reproach in respect of birth (.........*important consideration from the Brahmanical point of view*). Truly, sirs, Samaṇa Gotama has gone forth into religious life giving up his great clan, much money and gold and treasure. He is handsome, pleasant to look upon, inspiring trust, fair in colour, fine in presence and stately to behold". But this plain unsophisticated picture of a very striking and noble personality, which the legend-maker had been conceiving objectively so far, seemed too bare, too unlike the cult-Buddha. So he touched it up a little with the colour of his own cult-idea of a Buddha's attributes: "Truly, sirs, the Samaṇa Gotama has all the thirty-two bodily marks of a Superman; many gods and men believe in him, and in whatever village or town he dwells, there the non-humans do the humans no harm". After interpolation of these attributes of Gotama, Soṇadaṇḍa passess on to describe his status and vocation: He is the head of an Order, of a school, and as teacher of a school, he is acknowledged to be the chief among all founders of sects; his reputation is derived from perfection of conduct and righteousness; kings and great men are his followers, and their names are set down as they occur in other legends of the canon [10].

This conception of a purely human Buddha is not simply a matter of 'dramatic necessity' in the legend. It amounts to a tacit recognition on the part of the legend-maker that he who was the Buddha or the Bhagavā to the Buddhist and Superman in his eyes was at the same time a man renowned for his holiness among men, founder of a religious order, whom lay people called by the name of Gotama.

We have thus a harking back in the legend to a

(10) See Dial., pt i, pp. 149-150.

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'Gotama-Buddha tradition current among people outside the Buddhist circle. It is ultimately this tradition that is invoked in the reminiscence of the formula, 'So have I heard.' The tradition may be roughly delimited between the Lord's decease and the commencement of monkish legend-making about him which served effectively to efface it. We may guess that during this half-century folk ballads and traditional tales existed in the mouths of men, scraps of remembered teachings, personal reminiscences transmitted by direct disciples, even perhaps the general outline of a personality and career. The ruin of this pre-legendary Gotama-tradition was complete,—in language, form, substance and spirit. Are survivals of it discoverable in the canon ? Undoubtedly suggestive are a few verses (*gāthās*) quoted in the *Māhāparinibbāna Suttānta* in which the Lord's last missionary tour is described. The *gāthās* turn upon his last illness and the incidents of his painful trudge in the throes of illness to Kusinārā which he reached only to die. The memory of them would not be easily effaced: for folk poetry they would be an apt theme. The *gāthās*, sharply contrasting with the exalted style of their context, are curiously reminiscent in their *naivete* of popular balladry.

The headquarters of Buddhism after the Lord's death and at least for three after-centuries were the 'Eastern Region' (*Puratthima*), Magadha and the contiguous provinces. The matter of the pre-legendary Gotama-Buddha tradition may be presumed to have accumulated in this region in its spoken dialect. The dialect grew obsolete, —perhaps in a couple of centuries of the Lord's decease, before Asoka came to the Magadhan throne. But 'Māgadhī' as a dialectical name seems to have lingered for ages in tradition, caught at last and preserved, strangely enough, in a convention of Sanskrit drama. The practice of Sanskrit dramatists was to put the speeches of characters of different ranks and grades in different dialects and 'Māgadhī' is one

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of them, spoken by low-class people, boys and monks among *dramatis personae* [11]. Knowing the name, but nothing of the long dead dialect, they constructed an artificial cpseudo - Māgadhī, for dramatic use. Philologists suppose that the real descendent of the 'Māgadhī' of the Buddha's time might be the so-called 'Eastern Dialect' in which a set of Asoka's edicts are couched,—probably the court language of the Magadhan capital, Pāṭaliputra.

It is not known in what dialects the first series of Buddha-legends were composed. The question of a common literary standard seems to have been agitated at an early stage among Buddhist monks, but standardisation was evidently not agreed upon [12]. Later, when Buddhism was split up into several schools, each school adopted a language cradialect for scriptural purpose of its own choice.

The complete canon of the Theravāda School has come down to us in Pāli, a literary language of which the origin and the history are unsettled problems, of philology. Whether the language had formed at all when the Theras, perhaps in actual touch with the 'Māgadhī' Gotama - Buddha tradition, founded this ancient school, is doubtful. What their original linguistic medium was is unknown. Of the canons of other schools only fragments survive and they are linguistically different from each other [13].

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(11) Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit* (1928), p. 87.

(12) Culla, 33.1 (VT, iii, p. 150)—"At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus differing in name, differing in lineage differing in birth, differing in family, have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddha (*Buddha-vacana*) by repeating it in their own dialects. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddha in verse (*Chandaso*)". The suggestion was disapproved by the Lord, who said : "I allow you, Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddha (*Buddha-vacana*) each in his own dialect"(p. 151).

(13) A tradition is recorded by Vinītadeva (whose date is "about 700 A. D.", according to Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushan, *Indian Logic : Mediaeval School*, p. 119), in his work on the doctrinal differences

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In the transference of 'Māgadhī' materials from popular tradition to monkish legends, there was a transmutation as thorough and complete as could be. The legends broke with the tradition not only in linguistic medium, but also in form and spirit. The substance itself suffered what was like a 'sea-change into something rich and strange'.

For the casting of a Buddha-legened, a recognised conventional form seems to have been early invented by monks. It is inherited by all sects and schools of Buddhism and dates probably back within half a century of the Lord's decease when his followers formed a single undivided body. It got stereotyped and, except where a number of legends is consolidated into some sort of continuous narrative, it characterises each particular legend, composed half a century or five centuries after the Lord.

There are three components in the form,—(i) the introductory Formula, 'So have I heard', (ii) a Statement of the Time and Occasion (*Nidāna*), and (iii) the Discourse or the Dialogue (*Buddha-vacana*). The formula is a link with the supposed origin of the legend in oral tradition; the *nidāna* is for verisimilitude, and the discourse is the discharge of the Buddha's function, according to canonical doctrine, of 'enlightening' mankind.

It is evident that the pre-legendary tradition, where drawn upon, was regarded rather as raw material. It celebrated and transmitted the memory of a man transfigured now in the legend-maker's faith. Hence his selective use of the materials to indicate, illustrate and emphasise the Lord's Buddhahood or his Superman character. Doubt-

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of Budddist schools, which survives in a Tibetan translation, to the effect that the Sthaviravādins (Theras) used Paiśācī in their scripture, while the Sarvastivādins used Sanskrit, the Mahāsanghikas Prakrit and the Sammitīyas Apabhraṁśa. The relationship between Paiśācī, of which some literary samples survive, and Pāli is still a moot-point of Indian philology.

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lessly there was much infiltration of the traditional memory of the Lord from tradition into legend,—even the manner of discourse has some individuality and the cultish concept a few individual traits. On the legend-maker's ideation of the Lord, the traditional memory must have exerted a light, perhaps unconscious, moulding pressure.

It is only in this superseded pre-legendary 'Gotama-Buddha' tradition of Magadha (*circa* 483 – 433 B.C.) that the foundation of a 'real life of the Buddha' could have existed.

* * * * * *

For the reality of that life, however, for which no historical foundation now exists, and also in some measure of its social and cultural setting, the religion itself holds implicit evidence,—in its original character as well as in some of its basic doctrines and institutions.

Primitive Buddhism, as presented in the Pāli canon, is decidedly a religion of escapism, which regards household life as a bar to the highest spiritual attainment and adopts a system of practice and culture from which all 'motives of action' are deliberately excluded. It is decidedly unwordly in its highest ethic. Typical of its attitude is the ancient legend which embodies the Lord's discourse on the advantages of a religious wanderer's life. To one who has developed faith in the Lord and his teachings, the thought must occur, it is said : "Full of hindrances is household life : it is a dusty path. Free as the air is the life of religious wandering. It is not easy for one living in household life to practise the higher life (*brahmacariya*) in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection" [14]. The legend is that the founder of Buddhism himself renoun-

(14) Sāmaṇa-phala Sutta (DN, Vol. I, p. 63)—*Sambādho gharavāso rajo-patho abbhokasa pabbajjā. Na idam sukaran agāramajjhavasatā ekanta-paripuṇṇam ekanta-parisuddham samkha-likhitam brahmacariyam caritum.*

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ced the world, and it finds corroboration straightway in the stress, variously re-iterated, which primitive Buddhism lays on renunciation of the world as means to the highest spiritual self-fulfilment.

The Four Noble Truths (*Ariya Sacchāni*) concerning Sorrow, viz., that it exists, that it has its causes, that it may be brought to cessation, and that there is a path which leads to the cessation of Sorrow, have been fixed as fundamental tenets of Buddhism through all its many-sided historical developments. A learned Indian Buddhist monk, perhaps of the third century, A. D., when Buddhism was split up into many sects and schools, says thus in the introductory part of his treatise on sectarian differences in Buddhism: "When I look at the world all around, (I find that people) are drifted about by diverse views, distorting the words of Śākyamuni. I would (therefore) explain all their doctrines. When I examine Buddhism, (I perceive that) the Four Noble (Aryan) Truths are to be relied upon (as constituting the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism). All Buddhists should accept these truths first as one gathers gold out of sands"[15].

This basic category of Truths about Sorrow, common to both the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna, shows a certain integral unity: it seems to bear the stamps, as it were, of anindividual mind that has realised finally that suffering is in herent in life-process and is convinced also that there is a way out. All the ancient legends assert that this realisation was a personal one,—not a mere dogma of the religion,—and that it came to the founder himself through a series of concrete individual experiences. These experiences, though in doctrine mere signs (*nimitta*) of the Lord's future Buddhahood, suggest irresistibly a factual nucleus.

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(15) See Masuda's translation from Chinese into English of Vasumitra's work in Vol. I of *Journal*, C. U. pp. 4—5.

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The institutions of the Buddhist Order of monks also show clearly the marks of their origin in the wandering community of religious men into which the Lord is said to have passed after his Great Renunciation. It was in this community that he found his first disciples and adherents, and, when after the Lord's decease the order came into existence, its institutions were derived from the parent community. The Uposatha—a fundamental institution of Buddhism,— points back, as we shall see, to an established custom among the religious wanderers. The Buddhists transformed the custom, making it centre round the recital of a codified body of rules and regulations for monks called the *Pātimokkha*, held to be so sacred that even in the canon it is kept somewhat apart [16]. It is believed to contain the Lord's 'Thou shalt nots'.

But most strikingly suggestive of the influence and guidance of a personal founder is the nature of the constitution which the Buddhist order came to adopt for itself after the Lord's decease. The natural and normal course for the order would have been to elect a direct disciple of the Lord or a monk of pre-eminent position to headship in accordance with the custom that prevailed among the sects of the wanderers' community. But, instead, the Buddhist order adopted what was unknown in Magadha where the order had originated, viz., a purely republican form of constitution, resembling the polity that prevailed among outer tribes living to the north and west of Magadha. The fact points unmistakably to some sort of direction by a founder who hailed from one of these tribes, viz., the Sakya, and who was familiar with tribal forms of political self-government [17].

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(16) I can assign no valid reason for the Pātimokkha not being made a part of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, though embedded in the ancient commentry on that work, except that it was regarded with special sanctity.

(17) K. P. Jayaswal advanced the theory that the Sangha was

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The institution of pilgrimage in Buddhism also links on the religion to the human founder and his earthly life.

Unlike the metaphysical Mahāyāna Buddha-concept, the concept of primitive Buddhism was an essentially dynamic one. The Lord was a Mahāpurisa, placed beyond all categories of earthly and celestial existence,—sublime in his unique Buddhahood,—but he was consummated by a process of becoming. The process was conceived as having been accomplished on earth and in a human career. The truth and actuality of the process had confirmation in the traditions of him that lay in the background of the legends and traces of the career were left in the very soil of the land. The docetists who held that the Lord never lived on earth are faced roundly by the protagonist of the Theravāda in the *Kathāvatthu* with these pointed leading questions: "Was he not born at Lumbini? Did he not receive perfect enlightenment under the Bodhi tree? Was not the Wheel of the *Dhamma* set rolling by him at Benares? Did he not renounce the will to live at the Capala Cetiya? Did he not complete existence at Kusinara?"

Pilgrims have followed the trail of this career for well over two thousand years. Pilgrimage is one of the oldest institutions of Buddhism. It is recommended in the canon, —in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* ('Book of the Great Decease')—where it is extolled as act of signal spiritual merit, re-birth 'in the happy realms of heaven' being promised even to those who may die on a pilgrimage. In the same canonical book, a 'pilgrim's chart' is found incorporated,—a specification of the four holiest of places of Buddhism, viz., 'Where the Lord was born', 'Where he received enlightenment', 'Where he turned the Wheel of

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originally a political concept and it was adopted in the organisation of the Buddhist monastic order by the founder himself. According to Jayaswal, the constitution of the political Sangha among the tribal republics was the pattern of the Sangha of Buddhist monks. (*Hindu Polity*, p. 44.)

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the *Dhamma*' and 'Where he passed away' [18]. They are all identified and well-known localities and would not have been thus sought for and tracked by pilgrims in ancient times if the events believed to impart holiness to them had been produced out of the symbolism of a Sun-myth. The regional background of the Buddha-story of the legends has a solid and indubitable reality which archaeology has confirmed. The place-names in them have nearly all been substantiated,—Lumbinī (Rummin), Uruvelā (Urel), Vesāli (Basarh), Kusinārā (Kasia), Pāṭaligāma (Patna), and those other places that still retain their ancient names and sites.

While the intimacy and interconnection of the legends with a lost but real tradition is undeniable, it must be obvious that no approach to historical truth is possible by taking them directly and at their face value. Those who have not grasped the crucial facts of the origin of the legends in a cult, the distinction between the Buddha the man and the Buddha the cult-concept, the curious non-historical attitude of the monk legend-makers, taking indifferently an incident from actual tradition or inventing one, only to set off the Buddhahood of the Lord, will hug illusion in stead of reality. 'The Buddha did this', or 'The Buddha said that' in the legends yields no biographical value until each instance is sifted and evaluated in a free critical spirit.

Yet the figure of a human founder is there at the starting point of the story of Buddhism.

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(18). *Maha p, III.*

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OUR LADY OF BEAUTY AND ABUNDANCE: PADMĀŚRĪ.

By Dr. MOTI CHANDRA, M. A., Ph. D.

The goddess Lakshmī is a favourite deity of the Hindus. There is no auspicious occasion at which she is not invoked for the prosperity of the devotee. To commemorate her sacred character a special festival is held at Banaras which continues for sixteen days during which the devotees throng her temple to offer *pūjā* to her. During these days gaily coloured terracotta figurines of the goddess are bought by the people for worship at home. During the festival of lights *(Divāli)* the worship of Lakshmi is specifially enjoined for the attainment of prosperity during the year. It is a popular Hindu belief that on the night of Divāli Lakshmi pays a visit to the houses of her devotees and those who are found keeping vigil in her honour are blessed with prosperity. In some households of Banaras the image of Gaja-Lakshmi painted in sandal paste is kept for some time during the Divāli in the strong room and later on diluted with water is sprinkled all over the strong room, thereby ensuring the presence of the goddess of fortune all the year round.

The presence of Śrī-Lakshmī in common with the presence of other gods and goddesses is taken for granted by the Hindus, but an inquiry into the ancestry of Śrī furnishes us with some revealing facts. In the first instance in ancient Vedic literature Lakshmī in common with Śrī is an abstraction expressing beauty, but at a later age she is visualised as a beautiful goddess thus absorbing in her personality some of the attributes of the Great Mother Goddess who was worshipped in ancient days from India to the Mediterranian.

In the Indus Valley Civilization there are distinct traces

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of the worship of the Mother Goddess[1] in the shape of baetylic stone phalli and ring stones and besides a large number of nude, heavily girdled terracotta female figurines. In one terracotta seal from Harappa she is represented with a plant issuing from her womb thus stressing her connection with the fertility cult. On the same seal the scene of human sacrifice perhaps points to the blood--thirsty rights connected with the Mother Goddess cult.

The most important objects probably connected with the Mother Goddess cult are a large number of ringstones ranging from half inch to four feet in diameter found from Mohenjodaro and Harappa. According to Sir John Marshall these ringstones should be regarded as the representations of female organ of generation symbolising motherhood and fertility. It is interesting to note in this connection that within historical times small discs with or without holes discovered from Takshaśilā, Kosam, Sankisa, Basarh, Rajghat, etc. are definitely connected with the cult of the Mother Goddess. In the Hathial disc four nude goddesses, alternating with honey—suckles arranged in the central hole, emphasise the essential character of the goddess. The Rajghat seal has an interesting decoration which consists of a palm-tree with a horse by its side and a female figure holding a bud in her outstretched right hand, followed in successive order by a long eared and short-tailed animal, a crane, the goddess again, then a winged mythical animal and lastly a crane with a crab like object near its legs[2]. It is remarkable that unlike the Takshaśilā seal the central hole is not there. In another fragmentary disc from Rajghat there is a central hole around which are engraved two nude female figures with outstretched hands. On the flat ends there are two monkey-like creatures with a *makara* between them. A

1. Banerjea, *The Development of Iconography*, pp. 183 ff.
2. Ib., 187.

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Brāhmī inscription on its rim is unfortunately illegible. Another partly broken disc from Kosam in the Bharat Kala Bhavan containing an inscription whose reading unfortunately yields no sensible meaning is decorated with nude figure of the Mother Goddess and a row of *makaras*. There is little doubt that these seals are perhaps cult objects. As observed by Marshall, "In these ringstones, which are quite small and used perhaps as *exvote* offerings, nude figure of a goddess of fertility are significantly engraved with consummate skill and care inside the central hole, thus indicating in a manner that can hardly be mistaken, the connection between them and the female principle."[3]

It is evident from the discs described above that the Great Mother Goddess was connected with the palm tree, crane, some mythical animals and alligators and a horse. Without putting forward any theory it is interesting to recall that in the Mahābhārata (I, 66, 55) the sky-going horses are recognised as the 'mind born' sons of Lakshmī. It is interesting to note that terracotta figurines of horses are offered even to this day to certain village shrines of the mother goddesses. Her connection with *makara* is equally evident. In the Harivaṁśa (12482) Lakshmī is called the mother of Kāmadeva, whose ensign is *makara* (MB., III, 281, 7), which is also the ensign of Pradyumna as Kāma (MB., III, 17, 2; VIII, 111, 25). Not only that the *makara* appeared as an auspicious sign on the hand of Śrī (MB., XIII, 11, 3), *Makara* is also the vehicle of Varuṇa and some other Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs.[4]

As the *makara* symbolises the essence of waters and virility its association with Kāma is appropriate. Therefore, little doubt remains that Śrī-Lakshmī embodies in herself a whole complex of ideas connected with the cults of the ancient mother goddess and Varuṇa. Her connection

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(3) M. I. C, I., 62—63.

(4) Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, II, p. 53.

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with *makara*, a symbol of virility and also jewels, is peculiarly appropriate in her conception of the goddess of riches, and of fertility which she borrowed from that pre-Aryan goddess whose functions she gradually appropriated.

It is, however, not known to whom the Indian nude goddess represents, though we know that a nude and steatopygous type occurs throughout the most ancient world, from Central Europe to the Ganges Valley, whose general significance has been admirably summarised by Glotz, "She is the Great Mother. It is she who makes all nature bring forth. All existing things are emanations from her. She is the madonna, carrying the holy child or watching over him. She is the mother of men, and of animals, too. She continually appears with an escort of beasts, for she is the mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds and fishes. She even makes the plants grow by her universal fecundity ....perpetuating the vegetative force of which she is the fountain head."[5]

In Western Asia she was known as Anāhita or Ishtar and it is possible that she was worshipped at some distant age in India and Western Asia alike. As observed by Dr. Coomaraswamy,[6] "The Great Indian goddess Aditi has much in common with the Babylonian Ishtar, and on the other hand with Śrī Lakshmī : on each case either in the literature or in the actual iconography, or in both, great stress is laid on the milk-giving quality of the goddess who is sometimes compared with a cow. We can safely assert that the Indian nude goddess was a goddess of fertility, for this is written unmistakably upon her image ; that she was a popular and perhaps a household goddess ; that she was one of, and perhaps the greatest of the non-Aryan feminine divinities who later on were gradually and only with difficulty merged in the Brahmanical and Buddhist,

(5) Glotz, *Aegian Civilization*, p. 245.

(6)

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pantheons as Śaktis; and that she is in the last analysis identical with the Great Mother, the Supreme Devī of the Tantra. Not all the religious development nor the successive waves of alien ethnic influences of three millenniums have suffered to eradicate or weaken the indigenous concept of the supreme deity as a feminine power."

It is, however, not possible to name this Great Mother Goddess, as the Vedas our earliest source of information, with the exception of Aditi, attach little importance to goddesses. However, the *Gaṛihyasūtras* occasionally mention some feminine divinities. Thus Sinīvālī, a sister of the gods with broad hips, is begged to give children; Purandhi is the goddess of abundance, and Vaśinī, the 'ruling goddess' mentioned in the various Gṛihyasūtras 'is probably the mother goddess who despite all Vedic influences always was the chief spiritual village power identified with Śiva's wife in various forms.' (Hopkins.) The suggestion of Umā as mother goddess is also significant. But before any suggestion about her identification is made it should be borne in mind that all these are goddesses of abundance and, therefore, it is difficult to say which one played the role of the Great Mother Goddess.

To revert to the iconographic and aesthetic history of Śrī-Lakshmī it is evident from the early Vedic literature[7] that here as well Śrī embraces the concept of beauty and welfare as in the later literature. When the most varied beings are described in Avesta as Śrīra then the word only signifies beautiful and that too visible beauty in the primary sense. The Ṛigvedic *Śrī* also carries the same meaning though we could not be sure whether the aesthetic reactions of the Vedic period agreed with those of our own.[8]

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(7) H. Oldenburg, *Vedic Words or 'Beautiful' and 'Beauty' and the Vedic sense of the Beautiful*, *Rupam*, Oct. 1927, pp. 98—121.

(8) *Ibd.*, 98—99.

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Its connection with the derivatives of *dṛiś*[9] however, convinces us that *Śrī* connotes the sense of physical beauty. *Śrī* is also used in the sense of purifying or adorning.[10]

After the careful examination of all relevent passages from the Ṛigveda Dr. Oldenburg comes to the conclusion that possession of *Śrī* does not mean so much as prominence and distinction, as something pleasing to the eyes. Though the word at different places also refers to the pleasing appearance inherent in a man and also to adornment which produces the pleasing effect, its meaning as beauty and beautiful are prominant one.[11] But *Śrī* also indicates beauty that is heard. At one place *Śrī* indicates splendid position in life,[12] accruing from pomp and splendour, but even in this meaning its primary sense of visual beauty is not far away.

The relation of *Śrī* and *Soma* is difficult to assess ; when *Soma* was mixed with milk. *Śrī* or its usual alteration *Śrīṅ* is used. The meaning 'to mix' is attributed to the verb *Śrīṇāti*. Oldenburg quotes certain passages to show that its appropriate meaning would be 'to strenthen.' He also finds a close parallel between *Śrī* and *Śrīṇāti* and comes to the conclusion that in the Rig Vedic time *Śrī* indicated, importance, splendour and adornment. Most probably the verb, like the noun, acquired gradually the meaning of rising to the plentitude of happiness and wealth.[13]

In the later Vedic literature as well the conception of *Śrī* as beauty does not disappear, but its dominant meaning is important position in the worldly life. *Śrī* also combined *bhūti*,[14] *rāshṭra*, *kshatra*, *annādya*, etc. and

(9) *R. V.* VII, 15, 5; X, 45, 8; IV, 10, 5, etc.

(10) *R. V.*, V, 3, 3; VIII, 7, 25; X, 72, 2, etc.

(11) *Ib.*, 100.

(12) *Kāṭhaka S.* XXXVIII, 2.

(13) *Ib.*, 10 ff.

(14) *Atharva Veda*, XII, 1, 63.

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specially with *Yaśas*. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 3, 3, 1), however, the abstract conception of Śrī gives place to a concrete form in the story which relates how *Śrī* of Prajāpati was driven out by his *tapas* from within himself, and stood there, brilliant, shining, sensuous like a heavenly woman. Here we can clearly see the transference of an abstract idea of beauty to the visual form of a heavenly body, possibly the Great Mother Goddess of the pre-Aryan India, who possibly carried within herself the idea of beauty and plentitude.

The most important phenomenon of this age, is however, the unity of the conception of Śrī and Lakshmī. The connection between Lakshmī and *lakshman* 'sign mark' is quote obvious. As mentioned by the Śatapatha (VIII, 4, 4, 11; 5 43) *lakshman* is the outward visible sign of a happy or unhappy disposition ; *Lakshmī* is the disposition itself which is proclaimed or can be proclaimed by a *lakshman*. According to the Atharvaveda (VIII, 115) the human being is born with hundred and one *lakshman*. They can fly on to him with wings, they can attach themselves to him, as a lichen clings to a tree. Magic[15] causes the evil *Lakshmīs* to disappear and get themselves attached to an enemy. But people wished good *Lakshmīs* to remain. The noble conception of *Lakshmi* finds expression in such terms as *bhadra*, *śiva* and *puṇya*, while its evil epithet *pāpa* recedes into background, and finally only the auspicious meaning of the term holds the field. The inauspicious meaning attached to *Laksmi*, however, did not completely die out and finds expression in such terms as *Kulakshmi on Alakshmī* etc., used in contradistinction to the noble qualities of Lakshmi. This auspicious meaning of *Lakshmī* comes very near to the conception of Śrī both expressing well-being and splendour of existence. Thus it was easy for *Śrī* signifying happiness and *Lakshmī* the disposition to

)15) *Kau. Su.*, XVIII, 16 ff.

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receive it to merge. *Srīsca Lakshmīsca* are found side by side at a series of conceptions denoting blessing. In the TAITTIRĪYA ĀRAṆYAKA (Andhra Research Society Journal, X, 46) and in the Vājasaneyī (XXXI, 1) Śrī and Lakshmī appear together as two heavenly women and this combination leads to their complete identification.

In the *Śrī-Sūkta*, a Khila attached to the Ṛigveda, which could be dated at least before the Pāli Buddhist texts there is no longer any difference between Śrīdevi and Lakshmī ; they are both called Ārdrā and Padmamālinī (X, 11, 14). According to the Śrīsūkta, Śrī is awakened by the roar of elephants (*hastināda prabodhitā*).........bathed by elephant kings with golden pitchers (*gajendraih ....snāpitā hema kumbhair*).........Mother Śrī.........lush in the lotus lake ....lotus faced...... lotus shouldered, lotus eyed, lotus born, darling of Vishṇu......Mahālakshmī......put thy lotus foot within my heart."[16] Thus if in the Śatapatha the beginning of the divine personification of Śrī is yet vague, the goddess of the later period is complete in all essentials; even lotus becomes her cognizance. In the Sutra literature S. G. S. IV, 21, 7 ff.) offering is made to Śrī at the head of the bed, which emphasises her function as a goddess of fertility. Her bountiful nature is emphasised in the Taittirīya Upanishad (1, 4) where Śrī is said to bring garments, cows, food and drink, "therefore bri .g me Śrī.".

Śrī's connection with Vishṇu, however, does not appear in Vedic literature, but in the Taittiriya Samhita (VII, 5, 14), as noticed by Dr. Coomaraswamy,[17] Aditi receives oblations as wife of Vishṇu; in T. S., IV, 4, 12, she is described "the heavenly lady of quarter, the easily milked, the rich in milk, the goddess......the lady of Vishṇu, the mild, ruling the world.........may Aditi be auspicious to us." Mother-

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(16) Bhattacharya, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 71.

(17) Coomaraswamy, Early Indian Iconography, II, Śrī-Lakshmī, Eastern Art, Jan. 1929, p. 175.

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hood is her characteristic. She is identified sometimes with Pṛithvī and her thousand streaming breasts are said to milk out refreshment. Without throwing any hint about the identification of Śrī and Aditi it is obvious that there is a close analogy between them. Aditi is not exactly Śrī being more of Bhū, but some part of her is present in later Śrī as an independent power and the wife of Vishṇu, and pressing out milk from her breasts in certain sculptures. Her conception of motherhood is also stressed by calling her mother *(Sirimādevatā)* in one of the Bharhut sculptures.

The Goddess Śrī-Lakshmī in the epics attains her full iconographic significance. She is said to be born of the churning of the Ocean. [18] She is treated as has already been said as Kāmadeva's mother, [19] and in that capacity she bore on her hand a *makara* as an auspicious mark. As Kṛishṇa's wife she is Rukmiṇī, mother of Pradyuma. [19-a]. She is also associated to Indra and Kubera but she is not as yet his wife as in later literature. [20] Vaiśravaṇa Kubera's wife is Bhadrā. [21] In the Rāmāyaṇa [22] (R. V, 7, 14) she is said to be represented on Kubera's car with lotus in her hand. Her moral and ethical concepts are also emphasised in the epics. She discourses on religion, [23] though she does not believe in excessive virtue. She is also luck[24] At one place in the Mahābhārata: [25] she asserts: "All virtues strive to attain to my qualities. I am success, steadfastness, prosperity. I dwell with victorious kings and with such as are rightful

18. *MB.* I, 110, 111.
19. *M.B.*, I, 61, 44; 67, 156).
19.-ā. *M.B.*, XIII, II, 3.
20. *M.B.* 111, 168, 13.
21. *M.B.*, I, 199, 6.
22 *R.* , V, 7, 14.
23. *M.B.*, XIII, 82, 3 f.
24. *M.B.*, V, 125, 5 f.
25. *M.B.* XII, 83, 45 ff.

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and truthful. Formerly I took my abode with the Asuras, as lo. g as they practised all virtues; but as they give themselves up to sin I leave them and go over to Indra." Her association with lotus is also emphasised in such epithets as *padmālayā*, *padmahastā* etc.

She is treated with scant respect in Buddhist literature; in the Milindapraśna (191), her cult is counted as a secret one, and in the Brahmajāla Sūtra, her worship is proscribed. The early Buddhist art, however, did not believe in such taboos and as a motif Śrī-Lakshmi was being freely employed. In Jataka 535 she is connected with the east; in connection with Asa in the south, Saddhā in the west and Hiri in the north; she is reproached as being false, and indiscriminately bestowing fortune as willingly on the idle, low born, or ugly as upon the wise and the learned. In the Siri Kālakaṇṇi Jātaka (No. 392) Sirimātā is the daughter of Dhatarattha, Regent of the East; she is made to say, "I preside over the course of conduct that gives lordship to mankind; I am beauty (*siri*), fortune (*Lakshmī*) and prudence *bhūripaññā*. In Jataka 535 it is mentioned how a king sits on judgement in a dispute between the godesses Asa, Saddha, Siri and Hiri. Siri, beautiful as a morning star, says: "The man to whom I wish joy, enjoys all pleasures." However, the other reproach her because without her even the learned and the wise must fail, whereas under her protecting wings even the idlers and the uqly attained success. Thus accused of the lack of discrimination she lost the prize to Hiri. In the Dharmapada Aṭṭhakathā (ii, 17) she is simply the goddess who gives luck to the kingdom (*rajja-siridāyika-devatā*) an epithet which goes very well with her conception in the Gupta period.

Śrī Lakshmī maintains her somewhat auspicious character in Jain literature. In the Kalpasūtra (36) Śrī is one of the fourteen auspicous dreams of Triśalā forestalling the birth of Mahāvīra. Her discription closely follows her iconographic representation. She is described as the worshipful Śrī,

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reposing on a lotus of the lotus lake amidst the height of the Himalayas, anointed by the waters (poured upon her) by the strong, thick trunks of the elephants of the quarters etc., the text continuing with description of her physical charms.

In the mediaeval Hindu literature the epic conception of Śrī-Lakshmī persists. As a goddess of fortune lotus in hand she consorted with kings[28]; heroines are compared to her for her beauty Sometimes she is also abused for her fickleness,

In Vaishṇava theology she is said to be Prakṛti in relation to Nārāyaṇa or Purusha or as in the Pañcharātra system she is the Energy of Vishṇu. In relation with Kṛishṇa she manifests herself as Rādhā in whom love is perfected and idealised. The southern Bhāgavatas lay great stress on the worship of Lakshmī as All-mother.

After examining all relevant information from literature about the conception of Śrī-Lakshmī Dr. Coomaraswamy rightly comes to the conclusion[29] that in the developed from of Śrī-Lakshmī the orignal conception of the mother goddess has fused with a Vedic abstraction. In the sphere of devotional theology this conception grows in depth and spirituality till the goddess of beauty and well being becomes an Infinite Potentiality inherent in the person of Two in One.

II. Śrī-Lakshmī in actual iconography.

A distinguishing feature of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī is her close association with lotus, symbolising waters[30]. As pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy, in iconography Śrī-Lakshmī is associated with lotus in three ways, (1) *padmahastā* in which she holds the lotus in right hand; (2) she is

27. *Raghvaṁsa*, IV, 5.
28. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V, 30; kad., 22.
29. Śrī-Lakshmī, P. 178.
30. S. H. VII, 4, 1. 8.

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supported by an expanded lotus flower serving as *pīṭha* and (3) as *padmavāsinī* or *Padmalayā* type she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves; also at times holding the lotus in each hand.

In he types referred above No. 1 is least distinctive, while No. 3 is most distinctive occuring in the earliest examples. No. 2 is effectively distinctive before the Kushana period, when a lotus seat or pedestal begins coming in general use. At Bharhut it is associated with minor figures decorating the chamfered edge of the railing pillar between the medallions.

Elephant is also associated with Śrī-Lakshmī in her representation as Gaja-or Abhisheka-Lakshmī. It is significant that at Bharhut such a frail flower as lotus is associated with an elephant standing over it, because of its association with waters as the source of all life. The extended lotus in mediaeval period signifying the manifested universe and the lotus as symbol of purity are of secondary development. In the words of Coomaraswamy, the fundamental conception as expressed in later Vedic literature and in the early iconography is that of the waters, as the support both ultimate and physical, of all life and specially of the earth, whence there follows naturally the use as *āsana* and *pīṭha*"[32]

In Bharhut sculptures Sirimādevatā is without attributes though probably she holds in her right raised hand a lotus. She embodies a conception of physical beauty closely associated wtih the goddess. "It is impossible, not to recognise here, too, an iconographic inheritance from the types of the early terracott as representing a nud emother goddess, whom we cannot positively name, though we may be sure that we have to do with a goddess of fertility, who cannot have been thought of as otherwise than beautiful[33]. A woman standing on a full blown lotus and holding a

31. Coomaraswamy, Śrī- Lakshmī, P. 178.
32. *Ib.* p. 179.

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lotus in her raised right hand from Bharhut [34] also closely approximates to Sri Lakshmi type.

In Stūpa at Sanchi, datable to the Sunga period, Śrī-Lakshmī at one place [35] is depicted as *kamalālayī*. She holds blossoming lotus flowers in both hands and stands in the growing lotus plants. At another place she holds a lotus in right hand and perhaps a towel in left hand. [36] The development of the later type is seen on Gupta coins on which Śrī-Lakshmī is often represented holding a ribbon or towel.

The goddess Śrī-Lakshmī is also represented on some Śuṅga terracottas from Basarh though it must be admitted that their date is not finally settled, some dating them hundred years later. The fragment of a terracotta [37] (No. 550 – A.S.R. , A.R , 1913-14, p.116, PI. XLIV) represents a standing female figure with her hands on the hips. Around her lotus plants are growing. Her wings are, however, intriguing; this feature is definitely un-Indian. How the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī took wings it is difficult to say, Dr. Bloch attributes it to the Persian affinities of the Lich-avis, but such isolated examples cannot be counted as positive evidence to prove a theory. The possibility is that Iranian influence came to Bihar after the Saka invasion of Northern India, in the first century B.C., and such incidental finds with marked Iranian influences prove that Saka culture had penetratad much further than Mathurā.

Another broken terracotta piece from Basarh [38] depicts the lower half of tall slender female figure, whose right hand rests on the side, and the left is caught tightly in the girdle across the hips. Perhaps the figure also wore a tight fitting bodics. The most important part of the terracotta

34. *Ib.* , Fig. 14.
35. Marshall, *Sachi*, III, PI. LXXV, 9a.
36. Ib. ; PI. LXXVI, 12b, 15a; LXXVIII, 20b.
37. A.S.*R.* , A.R., 1913-14, p. 116, PI. XLIV.
38. A.S.R., 1913-14.; p. 117, PI. XLIV, e

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is the lotus pedestal. This is characteristic of Śrī-Lakshmī, though in the fragmentary state of the figurine the identification could never be positive.

The most artistic representation of Śrī-Lakshmī is, however, from Mathurā. The whole group consists of tall growing lotus flowers and leaves rising from a 'full vessel; on the central leaf is a pair of peacocks, while in front, standing with each foot on a flower is a voluptuous womanly figure evidently of our Lady of Beauty and Abundance. The gesture of pressing her left brest expresses the old conception of the 'lady rich in milk'.

All the three types recounted above Lakshmī seated on full blossomed lotus, standing on a lotus pedestal with a lotus flower in hand and Gaja Lakshmī appear on the Ujjayini coins, on the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathura such as Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, Purushadatta, Uttamadatta, Balabhūti, Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta; on the coins of the Kshatraps of Mathura like Śivadatta, Hagāmaśa, Rājuvula and Śodāsa; on the coins of Rājanya Janapada and on the coins of Bhadraghosha of Panchala.[39] The so-called dancing girl on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings Pantaleon and Agathokles has been rightly recognised by Dr. Coomaraswamy as Śrī Lakshmī. The patron goddess of Pushkalavati[40] represented on the unique Indo-Scythian coin has also been recognised by Coomaraswamy as Śrī-Lakshmī. The appearance of Śrī-Lakshmī on the coins issued by the kings of different faiths proves that at least the benign and wealth-giving personality of this goddess was accepted by all.

So far we have been dealing with the iconography of Śrī-Lakshmī without attendants, but a railing pillar at Sanchi[41] combining all three types of Śrī-Lakshmī is accom-

39. Banerjea, *loc-cit.*, P. 123.
40. B. M. C., P. 162.
41. Marshall, *Sanchī*, III, LXXVIII. 22d.

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panied by two attendants carrying food and drink. M. Foucher is accordance with his theory about which we will speak later on, recognises in this relief the representation of Maya, mother of Buddha, and male and female figures accompanying her are identified as attendants[42]. Elsewhere, however, a divinity bearing food and drinks[43], is unmistakably a Yakshī. In such a series, however, it is hard to say just where the Śrī-Lakshmī type should end and that of the Yakshī should begin, but this is only one of the several indications of the connection our or goddess with the Yakshas.

The *Abhisheka*-or Gajalakshmī type of Śrī-Lakshmī is very important as it occurs constantly on the terracottas and seals, in the early reliefs of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Manmodi and Oriss a but seems to have been unknown at Mathura and Amaravati. Thus from about 200 B. C. or a little earlier to the present day the representation of Gajalakshmī has been common mainly in the north. At times the goddess is four-handed with four elephants pouring water over her. In some elaborate compositions of mediaeval period she is accompanied by numerous attendants including Varuna. But inspite of all these e.c. ariations her essential conception of Gajalakshmī remains the same.

In the represntation of Gajalakshmi at two places in Bharhut reliefs[44] it is significant that the lotus of the seat or pedestal springs from a *pūrṇaghṭaṭa*, representing waters, prosperity and abundance. In one case the goddess is squatting with folded hands on a full blown lotus springing from the *pūrṇaghaṭa*; an elephant on either side stands on a full blown lotus also springing from the *pūrṇaghaṭa*. At another place the arrangement is the same except that the goddess dressed elaborately stands on a full blown lotus springing from the *pūrṇaghaṭa*,

42. *ib.*, Pl 78.

43. Coomaraswamy, loc·cit, Fig. 28 and B.

44. Barua, *Bharhut*, III, 79 & 80.

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pressing her left breast with her right hand, the idea being the mother rich in milk. At one place in stupas at Sanchi[45] the basic conception of the goddess is the same except that she is shown standing on a full blown lotus with folded hands; an elephant on either side stands on a lotus springing from the same spray. An interesting point with this relief is her association with a Yaksha mithuna, standing between two jars, the man holding a *padma* bud in his right hand. At the base is represented the lotus tree of life with two lions and two deer, and the tortoise at the bottom signifying the connection of the motif with the water cosmology. M. Foucher as usual tries to identify the scene with the great miracle of Nativity, but there is little doubt that the motif is closely connected with the cult of the goddess of abundance, and as the presence of the *Inthua* shows, of fertility.

The goddess appears at another place in stupas at Sanchi[46]. This time not only the goddess but also the genii (the woman has gone over to the right) stand on lotus pedestals; the man holding a lotus bud in the left hand and the women in the right. It is also remarkable that one of the two padmas set above the elephants in No.49 a has been replaced by an umbrella apparently signifying the coronation of the GajaLakshmī. The base of the panel is occupied by two palmates set one above the other.

In the first century B.C. as well the concept of Gaja-lakshmī continued to be a favourite subject. Her most interesting representation occurs on the front architrave of the southern gateway at Sanchi[47]. Here Gaja-Lakshmī stands on an open lotus with her left hand on the hip in luxuriant lotus vegetation and a couple of Indian geese

45. Marshall, *Sanchi*, III, LXXXIII, 49a.
46. Marshall, *ib.*, III, LXXXVII, 71a.
47. Marshall, *ib.*, II, Pl. XI.

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on either side. In the east end of northern gateway [48] she is represented as holding a lotus bud in her right hand and a towel in the left. In another sculpture on northern gateway, [49] Gajalakshmī is seated comfortably on a full blown lotus, with an elephant on either side pouring water from a pitcher held in its trunk. From the artistic point of view the representation of seated Gaja-Lakshmī on Eastern Gateway [50] deserves our notice. Here Lakshmī holding a lotus in her right hand is seated on an expanded lotus springing from a *pūrnaghaṭa*, and the two elephants standing on the lotus vessels are giving her the shower bath. The subtle grace of Lakshmi and the perfect balance of composition draw our admiration.

Gaja-Lakshmī is one of the earliest devices occuring on the tribal coins of India. It appears on an uninscribed coin from Kausambi (3rd century B.C.), coins of Viśākhadeva, Śivadatta. Vāyudeva of Ayodhya (lst century B.C.) and on unscribed coins of Ujjayini (2nd-3rd Cent. B.C.). It was such a popular motif that even the foreign rulers of Northern India such as Azilise, Rājuvala and Śoḍāsa adopted it on their coins. [51]

From the adove descriptions of Gaja-Lakshmī it is evident that stress is laid on the growing lotus sprays two of which support the feet of two elephant with uplifted trunks in which they hold inverted vessels from which a stream of water falls on the goddess. These elephants, pitchers and water represent symbolically clouds and rain. In early period these elephants were regarded as those of four quarters, though they were not represented in sculpture as such. These four elephants would be Airavata, Anjana, Vamana and Mahāpadma. The inverted vessels are frequently mentioned as rain-cloud symbol. Sometimes

48. *IB.*, II, PL.XXIV.
49. *IB.*, II, XXV.
50. *IB.*, II, PL. XLI.
51. Banerjea, loc-cit., p. 122.

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they are made to pour out rain by Varuṇa, [52] and sometims by the Maruts; [53] the latter indicating the source of the howling wind. Thus the water pouring from the inverted jar indicates life-giving rain.

Śrī-Lakshmī and Gaja Lakshmī are favourite motifs on Gupta coins and seals excavated from Basarh, Bhita and Rajghat. In the Gupta coins she is figured in different ways, one of which being an exact Indian counterpart of Ordoksho. But before we take up the representation of Śrī-Lakshmī on Gupta coins and seals it should be interesting to know what the *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa*, a text approximately of the Gupta period, which devotes a section on painting and iconography has to say about her.

The *Vishṇudharmottara*[54] regards Lakshmī as connected with Indra in the form of Sachi[55]; Gandhārī or the power of illusion of Vishṇu is equated with Lakshmī[56] and she is also regarded as one of the wives of Kāla. [57] She is spoken of as the mother of the whole world and the wife of Vishṇu. In her iconographic form she was made to look beautiful with two hands in which she carried a lotus. But apparently this form of the goddess appeared on Gupta coins and seals only. In separate images she was expected to have four hands holding lotus, nectar pot, conch-shell and *bilva* (Aegle Marmelos). The pedestal was to be shaped in the form of an eight-petalled lotus; a lotus umbrella shaded her, while a pair of elephants behind her back poured out the contents of pichers held in their trunks. The *Vishnudharmottara* also emphasises the symbolism of the objects held in her hands; thus the conchshell symbolises good luck and prosperity; the *bilva* fruit the entire universe and the lotus

52. R. V. 85, 3-4.
53. R. V., V, 53, 6.
54. Tr. by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta, 1928.
55. *Ib*., p. 74.
56. *Ib*., P. 84.
57. *Ib*., p. 102.

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the nectarine essence of water, as an alternative the lotus and conch-shell are also said to symbolise the sea. The elephants, however, are regarded as the symbol of royalty[58]. In another form of Śrī-Lakshmī the elephants were eliminated and the goddess carried in her two hands the conch-shell and the lotus. Two flying Vidyādharas were represented overhead. She was also attended by four goddesses Rājaśrī, Svarga-Lakshmī, Brāhmī-Lakshmī and Jaya-Lakshmī.[59] That Śrī-Lakshmī was attended by the goddesses mentioned above is proved by a sculpture from Mamallapuram (7 th century A.D.)[60] in which Lakshmī is attended by four goddesses two of whom hold pitchers.

It is significant to note that the *Vishnudharmottara*-associates the conch-shell with Lakshmi. This conch-shell signified prosperity as well as the sea, that is to say, the prosperous sea trade. As we shall see later on Lakshmī with her conch symbol actually appears on a Gupta seal depi-cting a ship.

The great stress laid on the worship of Śrī-Lakshmī in Gupta age is quite appropriate with the spirit of that period The aim of the Gupta Empire was three fold viz victory and consolidation of the empire, acquisition of wealth through greater production and trade and the worship of beauty which manifests itself not only in literature and arts but in all walks of life. This threefold aim of the Gupta age were inherent in our Lady of Beauty and Abundance, and, therefore, she was accepted by the state and trade guilds alike as a symbol of prosperity. In Gupta coins she is rep-resented in various ways. In the standard Battle-axe type of Samudragupta (335-80) and the standard type of Chandra-

58. *Ib.*, pp. 106-107.
59. *Ib.*, p. 107.
60. Coomaraswamy, lic. cit., Fig. 24.
61. Allan *Gupta coins*, pp. 1-7; 12-14, 24-25.
62. *Ibd.* pp. 14-15.

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gupta II she is represented seated on throne wearing a loose robe and ornaments, her feet resting on a lotus. She holds a fillet in right hand and cornucopia in the left[61]. In some coins of Samudragupta[62], and Chandragupta II[63], she holds a lotus in her uplifted hand. In some coins of Chandragupta II[64] and Kumargupta[65], she is shown seated on a lotus holding fillet in the right hand and lotus in the left. At times her left hand holding lotus rests on the hips[66] and the right hand is empty[67]. Sometimes lotus is held in the right hand and the empty left hand rests on the knee[68]. In another type she is represented seated on wicker-stool holding fillet in right hand and cornucopia in left[69]; often in this type the fillet is in right hand and lotus in the left[70]; in another sub-type the lotus is in the right hand and the left hand rests by her side[71]; in yet another sub variety she is holding lotus in the left hand and offering fruit to the peacock with the right hand[72].

In the standing type she is represented in the following ways : (1) Lakshmī standing on lotus grasping stalk of lotus beside her with right hand and lotus flower in left[73]. (2) Rising from lotus, holding fillet in right hand and lotus with stalk in the left[74]. (3) Standing to left, holding lotus in right hand; behind her a lotus plant and at her feet, a *haṁsa*[75]. (4) Standing to left holding lotus in right hand and cornu-

63. *Ib.*, pp. 26, 37.
64. Ib. pp. 26-9.
65. *Ib.* 64-66.
66. *Ib*, pp. 28, 29-32, 61 62, 63, 67-68, 114-119; 134-146; 149, 151-2.
67. *Ib.*, pp. 62-63.
68. *Ib.*, 69-67.
69. *Ib.*, 38-20.
70. *Ib.*, 45 9; 70-1,
71. Ib., p. 69.
72. *Ib.*, 71-76
73. Ib., 88.
74. Ib., P. 35.

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copia in left arm.[76] (5) Standing in lotus plants holding lotus in left hand and feeding peacock with fruit with the right hand.[77] (6) Standing on lotus, holding fillet in right hand and lotus in left.[78] (7) Standing on pedestal, holding fillet in right hand and lotus in left[79].

The Abhisheka type, however, only occurs on the coins of Śaśaṅka and Jaya[80]. She is however, very common on the Gupta seals from Basarh, Bhita and Rajghat. In one of the seals of *Kumārāmātyadhikaraṇa* from Basarh[81] Lakshmī is shown standing in a group of trees with elephants pouring water over her and two dwarfish figures, holding objects like money bags. At another place [82] Gaja-Lakshmī with dwarf attendant is associated with the seal of *Śresṭhi Sārthavāha-kulika-nigama*, that is, with the guild of merchantes and bankers. Another seal belonging to *Śrī-Yuvarājā-bhaṭṭāraka-Pādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* [83] also has Gaja-Lakshmī with a male figure kneeling on either side throwing coins from their bags. Lakshmī also appears on many other official seals [84] invariably accompanied by a yaksha on either side pouring out money from their purses.

On Bhita seals[85] either Gaja-Lakshmī is represented separately[85a] accompanied by a *garuḍa*, though in case of No. 32 Dr. Banerjea[86] is of the opinion that it is not *garuḍa* but *chauri*. Two interesting points about seal No. 42 my be

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75. Ib., 150.
76. Ib., 15-17.
77. Ib., 81--3.
78. Ib., 34.
79. Ib., 35.
80. Ib., 148,151,
81. A.S.R., A.R., 1903-04 P. 107.
82. Ib., P.107,No.4.
83. Ib., No. 6, P. 107.
84. Ib., Pl. XI., 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
85. A. S. R., A. R. 1911-12, XVIII, XIX.
85a. Ib., pl. XVIII. 32; XIX, 42.
86. Banerjea, loc. cit., p. 212.

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noticed. Firstly Lakshmī here holds in her right hand the conchshell and in the left a *garuḍa*, both probably expressing her association with Vishṇu; secondly there are no yakshas but in their place there are two money bags from which coins are pouring. Two yakshas seated on lotus pedestal, however, appear in another magnificent seal.[87].

In the famous Vārāṇasyādhishṭhānādhikaraṇa seal from Rajghat the goddess stands facing on fotus; to her proper right hand is a radiate disc on an elabbrate pedestal and to her proper left, are indistinct objects; from her hands held downwards coins appear trickling down[88].

An important point made clear from the above seals is the close association of the goddess Lakshmī with the cult of Kubera, god of wealth and Yakshas. As we have seen, even at Sanchi the goddess is associated with the yakshas and yakshnis either bringing food and drinks or simply as mithuna figures. But in the Gupta age it seems Laksmī's conception of the goddess of wealth topped over her other attributes with the result that the genii always are represented as pouring coins, the idea being that these custodians dole out riches to those who are specially favoured by this goddess The contention of Bloch that the combination of Lakshmī and Kubara was unknown is not tenable. Dr. Banerjea, however, quotes a passage from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa which establishes that Lakshmī was the presiding deity of the secret doctrine (*padmin vidya*) of the great *nidhis* recounted as *padma*, *mhāpadma*, *makara*, *kachchhapa*, *mukunda*. *nīla*. *ānand* and *śaṅkha*.

An unique seal from Basarh[90] represents a goddess, most probably Śrī-Laksmī. As the reproduction of the seal is very poor we are quoting Spooner's description of the seal. "It is an elaborate sketch, in low relief, so comple as to be diffic-

87 Ib., pl. XIX, 35.

88. loc. cit., pp. 213-14

90. *A.S.R.*, Ann. Rep., 1913-14, pp. 129-130; pi. XLVI, 93.

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ult of description. First of all, there is a long. heavy, horn-shaped roll following the lower edge of the wide oval, and seemingly depicting the lower part of a large boat or barge. The side of this barge is represented as higher than at the bow or stern in the central portion, where two parallel rows are shown one above the other, which are lighter and shorter then the main one, and remind one quaintly of passenger decks amidships. The barge has evidently its prow to left. To the right that is to say, toward the stern is what seems to be a single long oar crossing three rolls (or 'decks') obliquely and projecting towards into water, aft. At the front or left hand end of the topmost roll two parallel lines rise curving gradually forwards, towards the bow. Just back of these are three other slender standards which rise perpendicularly to the greater height than the previous pair and then at the top curve backwards toward the stern, but in such fashion that the one farthest to the left of the spectator is the tallest of the three, and sweeps over the curve of the other two concentrically. Toward the stern of the barge is what seems an upright standard with long dependent streamers. In the space between this and the three curling standards before mentioned, and then in the central part of the barge, or amidships rises a sort of platform or staging, supported on legs. This is apparently meant to be square as is shown,sa it were in perspective. On this, fairly well raised above the barge, stands a goddess, nimbate, facing with (proper) left hand on hip and right arm raised. She appears at first sight to be nude, but minute parallel lines crossing the lower limits horizontally are meant to represent diaphanous draperies. in the exergue above and to the left is a small naturalistic *śaṅkha*, and far still to the left is a small standing animal, to left, whether a winged lion or a humped bull is unfortunately not certain." The presence of *śaṅkha* should have little doubt that the Goddess is Śrī-Lakshmī. It is in the fitness of things that she should be associated with a ship as a symbol of the great maritime trade, which brought

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untold wealth to this country in ancient days. It also proves the ancient Sanskrit maxim *Vyāpāre vasate Laksmi.*

After examining carefully the aesthetic, symbolical and religious concepts of Śrī-Lakshmī attention may be drawn to M. Foucher's theory that at least in early Buddhist sculpture the socalled Abhisheka-Lakshmī is nothing but the representation of the Nativity scene from the Buddhist pantheon,[91] and this motif was adopted in the Brahmanitcal art in Gupta period. Even in his latest work on Sanchi he has refused to recognise Dr. Coomaraswamy's views that Śrī-Lakshmī has nothing to do with the Nativity scene, and adhered to his own conviction. Sir John Marshall[92] tries to reconcile the varying opinions of M.Foucher and Dr. Coomaraswamy by saying, "some of the Māyā figures on the baliustrades and gateways are identical with the familiar type of Śrī-Lakshmī, standing or seated on lotus, which the Buddhist evidently appropriated, along with the so many other formulae and motifs, from the current art of the period, since it can be hardly doubted that the Śrī-Lakshmī type goes to more remote age than Buddhism." It seems however, possible that the conception of Śrī-Lakshmī in Buddhist iconography was in certain cases transferred to Māyā, the mother of Buddha As well. as noticed by prof. E.H.Johnston in Saundarananda, ii, 47 the Buddhas, mother is said to be *Māyeva dividevatī*. This goddess Māyā referred by Aśvaghosha, Prof. Johnston locates fron an unexpected source the OXYRHYNCHUS Papyrus No. 1280 dated to the 3rd century A.D. which contains an invocation to Isis, in the course of which she is equated with all the mother goddesses known to the Greek world, Cybele, Atargatis, Astarte, Nanaia and many others among whom is included Maia in India. Johnston at once identified this

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91. Images indienne de la fortune, cone 1, Asia orientale, 1,1913. The begining of Buddhist art, cf. The Buddhist Madonna
92. Sanchi, Vol, I. P. 39 fn. 1.
93. J. I. S. O. A, Vol. X (1942), P. 101.

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Maia with Māyā of the Sundarananda, though it is doubtful whether this Maia is not synonymous with our *Maiyyā*, a generic term for the mother goddess even to day. Later on the Papyrus, somewhat defective at this point, informs us in what part of India she was worshipped. The translation of lines 221-231 runs, "Thou lady of the land, brought the flood of rivers ..and in Egypt the Nile, in Tripolis the Eleutherus, in Indian the Ganges; owing to whom the whole and the...exists through all rain, every spring, all dew and snow, and all things for ever[94]." From this it is clear that Maia was worshipped in the Gangetic valley and was closely associated with waters and hence vegetation and fertility. In what relation Maia stands to Śrī-Lakshmī it is difficult to say, but as both are the goddesses of fertility and rain a close relationship is possible.

Coomaraswamy while himself agreeing with the pre-Buddhistic character of Śrī-Lakshmī had lingering doubt in the identification of certain figures with that of Śrī-Lakshmī. In this connection he draws our attention to the floral garlands on the Amaravati coping reliefs issuing from the open jaws of a *makara* or a dwarf yaksha and supported by Yakshas either as gnomes or handsome youths. This motif appears at Bharhut and Sanchi, in the form of lotus rhizome issuing from the open jaws of a *makara;* at Amaravati it takes the form of a garland. The motif symbolises the Yakshas active in the production of vegetation form its sources in waters. The Yakshas in all instances are male, but in one example (Fig.) the place usually occupied by a male Yaksha is taken by a female. "This fairy florist is seated on the seed vessel of an open lotus, and leans backwards on it to exert considerable force in bringing out the garland from its source; above the *makara* itself are numerous lotus sprays, the whole lotus group clerly designating a watery environment. The composition, both in freedom and in the treat-

94. Ib. p. 102.

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ment of these datails in unique; yet it becomes apparent that the fairy can hardly be any other than Śrī-Lakshmī, Kamalā, herself. If she has become a yakshi among the yakshas, this is not altogether surprising; for we have cited already a number of passages from the liteature in which she is connected with and related to yakshas, and indeed according to one tradition, she is the daughter of Hāriti[95]. Her connection here with the *makara* as a symbol of waters, reminds us of Maia of the Egyptian Papyrus, and also the *makaras* on some Indian seals along-side the nude mother goddess.

After makig a detailed study of Śrī-Lakshmī both in liteature and iconography we reach the following conclusions: (1) The cult of Śrī-Lakshmī was closely associated with the cult of the Great Mother Goddess represented in nude female terracotta figurines and stone rings from the Indus Valley site and from the small rings decorated wich the figures of a nude goddess found from Basarh, Takshasila, Rajghat, etc., often closely associated with the *makara* and other animals and birds. It is, however, not known under what name this Great Mother Goddess was known in India, though the name of Sinīvālī or Umā may be suggested in this connection. (2) Śrī in the Ṛigvenda is an abstraction connoting the idea of beauty, welfare and pleasing appearance already inherent in a man. Gradually, however, it acquired the meaning of plenitude and wealth. In later Vedic literature the conception of Śrī as beauty persists, but its dominant meaning becomes splendid position in the world. In the story of ŚrI and Prajāpaati, however, we see the transference of the abstract idea of beauty to the visual form of a heavenly body, probably the Great Mother Goddess of pre-

95. Coomaraswamy, *Śrī-Lakshmī*, P. 188.

Aryan India a. (3) In the later Vedic age the coneption of Sri denoting beauty and Lakshmi, the happy disposition, unite. It is, hower notable that there were auspicious and inauspi-

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cious Lakshmī's and its latter charcter never died out comptetely. It was easy for Śrī signifyig happiness and Lakshmī disposition to receive it to merge completely. (4 In the Śrī-sūkta the full iconographic conception of Śrī-Lakshmī emerges. She is associated with lotus and also elephants pouring water over her-the two types of Śrī-Lakshmī commonly met in sculpture. (5) Śrī does not appear as wife of Vishṇu in Vedic literature. but her function as the goddess of abundance may be seen in the conception of Aditi who is mentioned in some places as the wife of Vishṇu rich in milk. (6) In the epic and Puranic literature besides being connected with Vishṇu she is said to be the mother of Kāmadeva and is also associated with Kubera and Indra. Besides being the goddes of love her association with lotus plants is also emphasised in her various epithets as Kamalā, Padmāśrī, etc. (7) Śrī is treated with scant respect in Buddhist literature and her fickleness is emphasised. In Jain literature, however, she maintains her auspicious character and forms one of the fourteen auspicious dreams of Triśalā, (8) In early Indian iconography Śrī-Lakshmī is repesented either holding a lotus in rignt hand, standing on expanded lotus serving as *Pīṭha*, or as *Padmavāsinī* type standing among the growing lotus plants. In Gaja-Lakshmī type she is attended by elephants pouring water over her. In some Śuṅga terracottas from Basarh she is provided with wings. All the types mentioned above also appear on coins. (9) At times in sculptures the goddess is accompanied by attendants carrying food and drinks. (10) In the Gupta period Śrī-Lakshmī as the goddess of luck and victory became a common motif and she appears in various forms in the coins and seals. In the Gupta seals from Basarh and Bhita she is accompanied by Yakshas pouring out coins from bags which confirms her character as goddess of wealth in this period. As her representaton on one of the seals from Basath shows she was also the patron goddess of sea-fairing merchants. (11) M. Foucher's identification of Śrī-Lakshmī as Māyā, the mother of Buddha, is

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insufficiently supported by facts, though there is some possibility of the mixing up of the two motifs. (12) Śrī-Lakshmī only appears once in Amaravati sculptures, where she is shown dragging from the mouth of a *makara*, sybolisii g waters which justifies her association with the Yakshas.

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BUDDHA AND BODHISATTVA IMAGES IN MATHURĀ MUSEUM[1]

By V. S. Agrawala. M. A. Ph. D., D. Litt.

I KUSHĀṆA PERIOD

(a) Inscribsed and dated images

*2347--Pedestal of a Buddha image seated cross-legged showing a *dharmachakra* on a dwarf pilaster between four worshippers on the front side. The inscription on the upper rim in Brāhmī script reads :-- *Sa 8 va 4 di 20 3, Buddhadāsiye bhikshuṇiye dī*. "Gift of the nun Buddhadāsī in the year 8, fourth month of the rainy season, on the 23rd day." The year 8 is to be reckoned in the Kushāṇa era. Presented by Pt. Bholanath.

*1558—Fragmentary Bodhisattva image (ht. 1′-2″) similar in style and attitude to the Katra Bodhisattva, Al and 121,- 1602 and 188. On the pedestal is a *dharmachakra* flanked by two standing worshippers on right side, holding lotus garlands and clad in Indo-Scythian dress, namely a long coat, trousers and thick boots. There is a brief dedicatory inscription

1. I am publishing here this portion of my revisd edition of Dr. Vogel's *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum* (1910) brought up to date and completed in 1939, which remained unpublished owing to War. The images are arranged according to Periods, viz. Kushāṇa, Gupta, Medieval. Under each Period, the first place is given to the dated images in the order of their dates. Then follow undated images, both inscribed and uninscribed, included in Dr. Vogel's *Catalogue* (1910), in their order as A1, A2, etc. Last of all are described the images from the Mathura Mescum Register in their serial order. With this arrangement clear in mind it will be easy to locate any image in this revised arrangement.

V. S. Agrawala.

* Inscribed sculptures are marked with an asterisk. Numbers like 2347, 1558 refer to the hand-written Museum Register, and A1, A2 to Vogel's *Catalogue*.

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incised on the upper and lower rims of the base, but as the proper left half of the pedestal is missing, the first half only of each of the three lines is preserved. Fortunately all the points of interest in the epigraph have come down to us. The text and translation were pubished by R. B. Daya Ram Sahni in *JRAS.*, July 1924, p. 400. It reads :—

(1) *(Ma)harājasya Kāṇishhasya savachhare 20 hemata māsa 4 divase*.........

(2) *devachaye bodhisat (v)o patithapito gothi*.........

(3) *mātapiti(h)i saha tapi*.........

"on...day of the fourth month of the *hemanta* season in the year 20 (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kanishka.. (this) Bodhisattva was set up in the *devachaya*...with parents." Obtained from Mathurā city.

The image was published in A. S. *R.*, 1919-20, pl. XVII, fig. *b*, p. 41.

* 1557 - Head-less Buddha image (ht. 2′) seated cross-legged with drapery covering both shoulders. Right hand in *abhayamudrā*, left holding drapery. The lion pedestal carved with a seated Bodhisattva figure flanked by four worshippers bears an inscription of two lines which is engraved on the lower rim of the base. It was edited by R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, in E*pi.Ind.* Vol. XIX,. p. 66. It reads :—

(1) "*Om Siddham Sa(m)* 20 2 gri 2 di 30 asyām pūrvvāyām Prāvārika-vihāre Buddha-pratimā pratish(th) āpitā*

(2) ....*(saṁdhi)*..............

"Om Success ! on the 30th day of the 2nd (month) of summer, in the year 22 on this occasion as specified, (this) image of Buddha was installed in the Prāvārika-vihāra.. ..."

The name of the Prāvārika-vihār occurs in an inscription from Kaṭrā Keshavadeva, No. Kt. 132 (see *JUP H S.*, July 1937, Ten inscriptions from Mathurā by V.S.Agrawala. Ins. No. 7.) and also on a Nāgī statuette from Girdharpur No.

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1316. It appears that the chief establishment of the Prāvārika monks existed at Madhubana-Maholi from which place the present image was found. According to the *Vinayapiṭaka*,, *pāvāra* was a cloak or mantle (*Vin* 1. 281 ; also *Jāt*, *V*.409) and the name Pāvārika was proably derived from the special cloak like drapery of the monks belonging to this denomination (cf also *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva; 3 . 51 for *Prāvarā*, a ma tle). According to the *Khuddakapāṭha* as quoted is Stede's *Pali Dctionary*, *pāvāra* also meant a mango tree (also *pāvāraka*) and it is quite likely that the monastery like the Chutaka vihāra of Mathurā derived its name from the mango grove associated with the establishment. A photo of this image is published in *A. S. R.*, 1919-20, pl.XVII,fig. *a*, p. 41 ; see also *A. P. R.*, *N. C.*, 1919, p. 2.

*2740— Inscribed pedestal (ht, 13″ length I′–8″) of a seated Bodhisattva image broken vertically in two pieces and bearing three lines of inscription in Kushāṇa Brāhmī script ;--

Upper rim, 1. *Siddhaṁ Mahā (rājasya) Kāṇishkasya saṁvatsare 10...etasyāṁ pa...vihārisya bhikshusya Nāgadattasya*

Lower rim, 2.-*dāna Boddhisatvaṁ Kraushṭikīye... vihāre svakāyaṁ chetiya-kuṭiyam sa... rehi...vihārehi sarva-buddha-pūyāye sarva sa--*

3.--tvanāṁ hitasukhāye āchāriyāna Māhāsaghiyāna pratigr...

"Success ! in the year 10 of Mahārāja Kanishka..... on this date, this Bodhisttva is the gift of Bhikshu Nāgadatta in the Kraushṭikīya monastery for enshrinement in the sanctuary of his own *chaitya*, for the worship of all the Buddhas, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika monks". Obtained in May 1937 from diggings in the main street of Mathurā city near Kanskhar.

*1602---Image (ht. 1′ -4″) of a seated Bodhisattva, head and arms missing. In attitude and style simila to Bodhisat-

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tva No. A.1 and No. 188. On the pedestal is a *dharmachakra* placed on a *triratna* symbol, flanked by two worshippers. The three rims of the base bear a line of writing each of which the lowermost only is partially preserved. The text and translation were published by R. B. Daya Ram Sahni in *JRAS.*, July 1924.

1. *Mahāra (ja*) sya Kāṇi (shkasya) 20 3 grī etasya purvam vihārasvāmisya Guṇasya dhiti Puṣyada (tā*)......*

2. *Bodhisatvam pratishṭha (pa*) yati*

3. *Svake vihāre sa (rva-satvanam......)*

" In the first month of the summer season of the year 23 in the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka, on this occasion as specified, Pusyadatā, the daughter of Guṇa, the master of the Vihāra (Vihāra-svāmī), established this image of the Bodhisattva in her own convent (for the welfare) of all sentient beings."

According to Sahni this inscription reduces the gap between Kanishka and Vāsishka to only fifteen months. The earliest known date for Vāsishka is in the Īsāpur Yūpa Inscription, i.e. the 30th day of the fourth month of the summer season of the year 24. It is, therefore, evident that Kanishka's reign must have terminated and Vāsishka come to the throne during the fifteen months that separate these two documents. Sahni suspected a fourth horizontal bar in the numeral sign for 3, but that is only a defect on the original stone and the numeral is definitely 3.

Find-place Sonkh village in Mathurā Tahsil.

*A 49—Fragment (ht. 5″; width 1′ 3½″) apparently belonging to a seated Buddha image. Only some drapery of the robe is preserved. The flat surface beneath the drapery is inscribed with a fragmentary inscription in one line of which the beginning and concluding portions are lost. It reads:......*shkasya rājya-saṁvatsare 28 hemanta 3 di*........... "In the 28th year of the reign of....shka, in the third month of winter, on the .. day..." It was discovered Mr. Growse

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in the courtyard of the Magistrate's Court House and had probably been brought to light in 1860 when the foundations of this building were laid. Growse presumed that the name of the king is to be restored as that of Kaṇishka. Professor Lūders, however, has pointed out that the stroke preceding the syllable *shka* is in favour of the restoration *Hushkasya*. (Cf. Growse *Mathurā* (2nd ed) ,p. 106, with plate ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 217, no. 1 with plate ; and Lūders, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 38-39, no. 8).

*A 71 – Fragment (ht. 9") consisting of a pedestal with the lower portion of a Buddha figure seated cross legged. Drapery on left leg still remains. The front of the pedestal is corved with a relief, partly defaced, consisting of two lions at the ends and a *dharmachakra* on a dwarf pillar between two worshippers. On the rim above is an inscription dated in the year 31 of Huvishka. It reads: –

Huvishkasya (saṁ) 30 1 (he) 4 di 20 dana.. vasūye ant-e vāsinīna vrid(h) aye.

The sculpture was acquired from the mound of Rāl-Bhadār, 8 miles north-west of Mathurā.

*A 63.– Life-size statue (height 6' 4" including tenon) of a Bodhisattva standing. It is broken in two ; the head and right arm are lost. The right hand was most probably raised to the shoulder, the attitude of the image being the same as that of the Bodhisattva statue of Sārnāth. The dress also is similar. It consists of *dhotī* fastened to the loins by means of a flat girdle and an upper garment thrown over the left arm and shoulder. The front of the pedestal is cut off with part of the feet. Between the feet we notice a cluster of lotus-buds. On the top of the pedestal is a fragmentary inscription of one line which reads : *Siddhaṁ Maharajasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya sa[ṁ] 35 hemata......* "Success ! In the year 35 of the King, His Majesty Huvishka..." The image was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from Lākhanu, Hathras *parganā*, Alīgaṛh district.

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*A65.—Statuette (ht. 1' 2') of a Buddha seated cross-legged with his right hand raised in the attitude of imparting protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*), whilst the left holds the hem of the robe which covers both shoulders. The drapery is indicated in a schematic manner. The halo is broken. On the front of the pedestal is a bas-relief representing a Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation between two devotees standing at his sides. Both ends are occupied by lion figures. The workmanship, both of the Buddha and of the pedestal is clumsy. There is an indistinct inscription of two lines cut on the raised rims above and beneath the bas-relief. It is dated *Sa* 51 *gri* 3. On loan from the Govenment of India.

The sculpture was discoverd bv Pandit Radha Krishna at Anyor near Govardhhaṇ. where it was being worshipped as the Goddess Durgā.

(b) UNDATED BUDDHA AND BODHISTTAVA IMAGES FROM DR. VOGEL'S *CATALOGUE*.

*A 1.—Statuette (ht. 2' 3¼"; width 1', 8") in dark red sandstone, representing a Bodhisattva, presumably Śākyamuni, seated cross-legged with his left hand resting on his knee and right hand raised to the shoulder in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhayamudrā*). The hand is connected with the back-slab by means of a projection carved with a decorative pattern. The figure is clad in a garment which leaves the right shoulder and breast bare. The folds of the drapery are indicated in a conventional fashion on the left shoulder and arm and beneath the legs. The palm of the right hand is marked with the symbol of the wheel and the soles of the feet with the wheel and three-jewel symbols. The toes are each marked with a *svastika*. The treatment of the hair deserves special notice. It is not carved in curls but

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is only indicated by a line over the forehead, so as to give the impression that the head is shaven. The protuberance of the skull (Skr. *ushṇīsha*) has the shape of a snail-shell (Skr. *kaparda*). The *ūrṇā* is indicated between the eyebrows. It is curious that though the image thus possesses the marks of a Buddha, it is designated in its inscription as a Bodhisattva.

The head is encircled by a halo with scalloped border (*hastinakha prabhāvalī*), around which the foliage of the Bodhi tree is shown. The circumstance of the foliage being that of the *pīpal tree* (*ficus religiosa*) renders it highly probable that the image represents indeed Śākyamuni before the attainment of Buddhahood. To the right and the left of the Bodhisattva stands an attendant, wearing royal attire and waving a fly-whisk in his right hand.

Over these two attendants are two flying figurines, presumably Devas, showering flowers over the Bodhisattva. One of these figures, that to the proper left, is slightly damaged. For the rest the sculpture is in excellent preservation. The pedestal is supported by three seated lions ; the one in the centre facing, the other two, placed at the sides, turned outward. On the three raised rims of the pedestal is a Prākrit inscription in three lines, measuring 15¼" 10½" and 7½" respectively. It reads:

(1) *Budharakhitasa mātare Amohā-āsiye Bodhisacho patiṭhāpito*

(2) *sāhā mātāpithi sake vihāre* (3) *savasatvānā hitasukhāye*.

Or rendered in Sanskrit :

Buddharakshtasya mātrā Amohāsyā Bodhisattvaḥ pratishṭhāpitaḥ saha mātapitṛibhyām svake vihāre sarvasattvānām hitasukhāya. "Budharakhita's mother Amohā-āsī has erected [this] Bodhisattva together with her parents in her own convent (or temple) for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."

Palaeographical evidence points to the sculpture belonging to the early Kushaṇa period. It is with the Buddha image of Anyor (No. A 2) the oldest representation of

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Sākyamuni of which the date can approximately be fixed by an inscription, and must be one of the first Buddhist images made in Mathurā. On account of its artistic merit and excellent preservation also this Bodhisattva is one of the most remarkable sculptures preserved in the Museum.

The statuette was purchased for the Museum by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Brahmin who is said to have found it in digging a well on the Kaṭrā site, and worsh pped it as Viśvāmitra, while assuming that the four attending figures represented Rāma and his three brothers Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna On loan from the Government of India. (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXVI *a*; *A.S.R.*, 1909-10, pl. XXIII a, p. 63; Smith, *History of Fine Art*, p. 143, fig. 93; Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 44, pl. XXII D; Coomarswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 57, fig. 84; Bachhofer, *E.I.S.*, pl. 81; K. Khandalwala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 20, fig. 21.)

*A2. - Image (ht. 2′ 9″; width 2′ 1″ of a Buddha seated cross-legged with his left hand resting on his knee. The right arm is lost, but the hand was evidently raised to the shoulder in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhya-mudrā*). The head is lost ; it was provided with a circular halo, which is partly extant. On both sides of the halo is the foliage of the Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa*). The figure is clad in an upper garment which leaves the right shoulder and breast bare. The turned-up soles of the feet are marked with the wheel and three-jewel symbols. The image is placed on a pedestal decorated on the sides with a pair of seated lions turned outward. The central portion of the pedestal appears to be defaced and may have contained a third lion, as is found on the Katrā Bodhisattva (cf. above A 1). Along the raised upper rim of the pedestal is an inscription in two lines of 23″ and 17½″ respectively. It reads :

1. *Upāsakasya Sushasya Hārushasya dāna*[*ṁ] *Bu*[*d]-*dhaprat*[*i*]*mā Uttarasya H*[*ā*] *rusha*[*sya*]

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2. *vihāre sahā mātā-pitihi sarvasatvān[ā]'n hita-sukh[ā]-rtha[ṁ].*

"Gift of the lay-member Susha of Harusha, a Buddha image at the convent of Uttara of Harusha together with his parents for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."

The geograppical name Harusha (Hārushī) cannot be identifed. It may, however, be compared with the city name Jārushī quoted as an illustration in the Kāśikā to Pāṇini IV. 2. 76. A resident of Hārushī would be called Hārusha.

It deserves notice that the language is much more sanskritic than that of the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva inscription. It may be assigned to the early Kushaṇa period on account of the character which agrees closely with that of the Sārnāth Bodhisattva inscriptions of the 3rd year of Kanishka.

The image is the oldest Buddha figure designated as such in an inscription and must, therefore, be one of the first representations of Buddha found at Mathura in India, excluding Gandhāra. It was discovered by General Cunningham in 1882-83 at the village of Anyor at the south-eastern foot of the Girirāj or Govardhan hill and acquired for the Museum in January 1908 by Pandit Radha Krishna. Cf. A.S-R., Vol. XX, p. 49; plate V, No. 5. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture* 83, fig. a.) On loan from the Government of India.

A 3.—Image (ht. I′ II″) of a Buddha seated cross-legged with his right hand raised to the shoulder in the attitude of imparting protection. The right hand is broken; the head and left arm are missing. Part of the halo is preserved. The robe leaves the right shoulder uncovered and is tied to the loins by means of a girdle ending in two tassels which are visible below the feet. This image was standing at the entrance of the Damdama or Sarāi-Jamālpur now occupied by the Police lines. Possibly it originates from the neighbouring Jamālpur site. Kushāṇa period.

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A 4.—Image (ht. 2′ 8″) of a standing Buddha. Feet and pedestal missing. The head is provided with a circular halo with scalloped border. The hair is treated so as to simulate the shaven head of a monk; the protuberance of the skull is conical in shape. Circular mark (Skr. *ūrṇā*) between the eye-brows. Protruding lips. The right hand is raised to the height of the shoulder; the open palm is marked with the symbol of the wheel (Skr. *chakra*). The stone connecting the hand and the halo is carved so as to present the appearance of a cushion. The left hand lifts the hem of the robe (Skr. *saṅghāṭi)* to the level of the shoulder. The robe covers both shoulders. The general attitude of the image is similar to that of some Gandhāra images, but the style is typical for the Mathurā school. Find-place unknown. Kushāṇa-period. (Cf. Grūnwedel, *Buddhist Art*; fig. 117. Also L. Bachhofere's *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, Pl. 86, fig. 1. Vogel's *Catalogue* 1910, Pl. XVa).

A 14.—Image (ht. 3′) of a Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne or lion-seat (Skr. *siṁhāsana*), his right hand raised in the attitude of protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Head and left arm missing. The well-draped robe covers both shoulders. Wheel (Skr. *chkra*) and three-jewel (Skr. *triratna*) symbols on the soles of both feet. Lion on proper right side of pedestal missing. The image was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and perhaps came originally from the Jamālpur site. Kushāṇa period.

A15.– Image (ht. 2′ 8″) of a Buddha seated cross-legged. Head and both arms broken. Remnant of a halo with scalloped border under the right arm. The right hand was probably raised in the attitude of protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā)*, whilst the left held the hem of the garment. The well-draped robe leaves the right shoulder bare. Wheel (Skr. *chakra*) and three-jewel (Skr. *triratnd*) symbols on the sole of each foot. The image was kept in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and was perhaps unearthed on the Jamālpur site. Kushāṇa priod.

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A 16.—Image (ht. 2′ 6″) of a Buddha seated crosslegged. Head and arms missing The left hand is preserved and rests on the knee. Right shoulder bare. The drapery is slightly indicated on the left shoulder. The lower garment is fastened to the loins by means of a double girdle. The right hand was perhaps raised to the level of the shoulder in the attitude of protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). The wheel (Skr. *chakra*) and three-jewel (*triratna*) symbols are marked on the soles of the feet. The image is perhaps identical with the mutilated figure found by Growse in one of the Chaubārā mounds together with an inscribed image. (*Ind.Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 217.) Kushāṇa period.

A17.—Statuette (ht. 1′ 6″) of a Buddha seated crosslegged. The head is missing and both arms are broken. The attitude was probably that of imparting protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*) expressed by the right hand, still traceable, being raised towards the shoulder, the open palm turned outwards. The left holds the hem of the monk's robe which covers both shoulders. The beginning of the halo is visible near the right shoulder. Find-place unknown.

A 19.—Statuette (ht 1′) of a Buddha seated crosslegged in the attitude of meditation. The robe covers both shoulders. Head and right knee missing. At the side of the left knee is a projecting piece of stone. The image was preserved at the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A 20.—Statuette (ht. 7½″) of a Buddha (?) seated crosslegged in meditation on a throne between two attendants. On the front of the pedestal is a wheel placed between two seated female figures; two lions couchant occupy the corners. It was found in clearing a well at Jamālpur and was made over to the Museum by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Vost, I.M.S.

* A 21.—Statuette (ht. 1′ 5½″) of a Buddha seated crosslegged on a cushion placed on a throne supported by stand-

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ing lions. The head which was detached has been refixed. The two arms are broken, but evidently the right hand was raised in the attitude of imparting protection, whilst the left held the hem of the garment, as appears from the drapery displayed over the left knee. The robe covers both shoulders. Over the left shoulder is a remnant of an ornamental halo. In front of the throne between the two lions is a relief representing a seated figurine with halo, presumably a Bodhisattva, with four figures of devotees, two on each side, approaching him with offerings. The figure on the proper left end is a woman. Part of the pedestal with the lower portion of these five figures is defaced. On the proper left side are traces of an inscription reading *naṁ hita sukharthā* the statuette was found by Dr. Vogel set up near a shrine at Sitalā-Ghāṭī in Mathurā city, where it was being worshipped, and was purchased for the Museum. On loan from the Governmet of India. (Vogel, *Catalogue* pl. XVI ; *La Sculpture de Mathurā* Pl. XXVII a;" *A.S.R.* 1909–10, p. 66, pl. XXIII C ; Bachhofer, *E.I.S.*, pl. 84.)

A 22.—Statuette (ht. 7") of a Buddha (?) seated crosslegged on a throne supported by two lions. In front of the throne is a figurine with halo seated in the attitude of meditation between two standing figures. (Cf. above No. A 21.) Find-place unknown.

A 27.—Head (ht. 1' 10½") of a Buddha image of colossal size. Nose broken. Shaven head. *Ushṇīsha* distinctly marked in the shape of a snail shell. *Ūrṇā* indicated by a circular hole between the eyebrows, evidently meant to contain a precious stone. This head is no doubt identical with "the head of a colossal figure of very Egyptian cast of features with a round hole in its forehead. in which was once set a ruby or other precious stone." It was found by Mr. Growse in one of the Chaubārā mounds, the same which yielded the steatite relic casket now in the Calcutta Meseum and the railing pillar No. J 7. (*Mathurā*, p. 123.)

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A 28—Head (ht. 1′ 5″) of a Buddha image of colossal size. *Ushṇīsha* distinct. Forehead, nose, chin and ears broken. Cheeks and chin round and full. Pupils not indicated. Find-place unknown.

A 29.— Head (ht. 1′ 4″) of a Buddha image of colossal size. Nose missing; ears damaged. Hair arraged in rows of schematic waves. Protuberance of the skull (Skr, *ushṇīsha*) damaged. Mark on forehead (Skr. *ūrṇā*) indicated by a slightly raised disc. Three mortices two over the ears and one behind the *ushṇīsha*. Find-place unknown.

A 30---Head (ht. 1′ 2″) of Buddha image of life-size. Nose broken. Forehead, chin and ears damaged. Hole on proper right side. Hair arranged in schematic curls. *Ushṇīsha* distinctly marked. The head was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907. Perhaps from the Jamālpur site.

A 32.—Head (ht. 1′ 1″) of a Buddha or Bodhisattva image of life-size. Nose missing, ears and chin damaged and surface generally disintegrated. There are traces of an *ushṇīsha*, but not of an *ūrṇā*. On the top behind the *ushṇīsha* are two holes, evidently meant to receive iron clamps or hooks. This head was found on the Anyor Buddha image to which it had been attached with mud plaster by the inhabitants of the village who used to worship the image. It is, however, obvious that this head belongs to an image of much larger size than that on which it was placed. The head was acquired for the Museum by Pandit Radha Krishna at the same time with the Buddha image. On loan from the Government of India.

A 33.— Head (ht. 11″) of a Buddha image of life-size. Nose, right eye and *ushṇīsha* broken. Hair indicated by a line over the forehead. It was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907, and perhaps came originally from the Jamālpur site.

A 34.— Head (ht. 10″) of a Buddha image of less than

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life-size. *Ushṇīsha* broken; nose damaged. Hair indicated by a line over the forehead. *Ūrṇā* between the eye-brows. The head was kept at the Allahabad Library till December 1907, and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A 35.—Head (ht. 10″) of a Buddha image of life-size. Back of head broken off; nose missing. No trace of an *ushṇīsha*. *Ūrṇā* marked between the eye-brows. Hair arranged in schematic curls. It was found in clearing a well at Jamālpur and made over to the Museum by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Vost, I.M.S.

A 40.—Statue (ht. 6′ 7″ including tenon) of a Bodhisattva standing. Head and arms missing. The left hand probably rested on the hip, where the stone is broken. The upper part of the body is nude, except for a torque and flat necklace. A scarf thrown over the left shoulder passes round the right leg beneath the knee. It was probably held at the hip with the missing left hand. The lower garment which covers the legs is fastened round the loins by means of a double flat belt, the upper one being knotted over the right thigh. It has the appearance of a *dhotī* with its ample folds hanging down between the legs. On both sides of the feet are traces of a kneeling figurine. These presumably represent the donors of the statue. The image shows a marked affinity to the Bodhisattva of the third year of Kanishka excavated by Mr. Oertel at Sārnāth in March 1905 and to the one previously discovered by Cunningham at Saheṭh-Maheṭh, the site of the ancient city of Śrāvastī. (Cf. *A.S.R.* for 1904-05, pp. 78 ff., plate XXVI.) We may, therefore, assume that the pose of the present Bodhisattva was the same, the right hand being raised towards the right shoulder, and that the image belongs to the Kushāṇa period. A comparison with the Bodhisattva statuette A 43 will show what the image was like when entire. (Cf. also *A.S.R.* Vol III, plate XI D.) Find-place unknown.

A 41.—Life-size statue (ht. 4′ 5″, of a standing Bodhisattva, of which the head and feet are broken off. Near the

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right shoulder are traces of a circular halo with scalloped border. The right arm is missing; the hand was probably raised to the level of the shoulder in the attitude of imparting protection. The left hand rests on the hip. The figure is clad in a thin upper garment, of which the drapery is indicated on the left arm and breast, and in a *dhotī* fastened to the loins by means of a flat girdle tied in a knot over the right thigh. The *dhotī* falls down in ample folds between the legs. The statue is of exactly the same type as the Bodhisattva statues of Sārnāth and Sahehṭh Maheṭh and, on that acconnt, may be attributed to the Kushāṇa period. Dr. Vogel found it in December 1907 lying at the side of the *kacchā* road at the foot of the Menāgaṛ Ṭilā close to the garden known as the Bangalanvāli Bāghīchī.

A. 43—Statuette (ht. 1′ 5″) of a Bodhisattva presumably Maitreya. Right arm broken. It has a plain halo with scalloped border, an elaborate head-dress and the usual ornaments. It wears a scarf over the left shoulder and arm, and holds an ointment vessel between the fore-finger and the middle finger of the left hand, the palm of the hand being turned forward. The figure is clad in a *dhotī* fastened to the loins by means of a double flat girdle tied in a knot above the right thigh. The statuette has a marked resemblance to the headless statues A 40 and 41, and must belong to the Kushāṇa period. Find-place unknown. (Vogkl. *La Sculpture de Mathūra*, p. 44, Pl. XXXV *a Mathurā Catalogue*, 1910, pl. XV b.)

A. 44.—Fragment (ht. 1′ 5½″ including tenons of a standing Bodhisattva (?) statuette of which only the lower half remains. Between the legs is a portion of the drapery of a *dhotī*. Cf. Nos. A 40, 41 and 43. The sculpture was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907 and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A. 45.—Image (ht. 2′ 2″) of a Bodhisattva seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. (Skr. *dhyāna-mudrā*).

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Head missing and right arm broken; the halo with scalloped border is partly preserved. The soles of the feet are marked with the wheel and three jewel symbols. The figure wears a scarf thrown over the left shoulder and arm, and a *dhotī*, the end of which is spread out in front on the pedestal together with the tassels of the cord with which it is fastened to the loins. The breast and arms are decorated with profusc ornaments. We notice particularly the broad necklace fastened with buckles in the shape of *makara* heads and the string of amulet-holders[1] under the right arm which are commonly found on the Bodhisattvas of Gandhāra. The bracelets on the upper arms ase embellished with plaques on which we observe a human figure riding on a conventional bird, probably a Garuda or a peacock (*garuda keyūra*). The spread-out tail of the bird forms, as it were, an ornamental halo round the rider. The image was found inside a well near a village of Ganesrā five miles from Mathurā on the Govardhan road and was placed in the Musem in 1908. (Plate X.) On loan from the Goverment of India. (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*. pl. XXXIII *a*. Bachhofer, *E. I. S.*, p. 102 pl. 85, A. S. R., 1909-10, p. 69, pl. XXII *d*.)

A 46.—Torso (ht. 2′ 2″ or O m. 66) of a male figure of colossal size, perhaps a Bodhisattva, profusely adorned with various ornaments. Over a string of beads and two flat torques a heavy beaded necklace hangs down between the breasts. This necklace is very curiously decorated with four *makara* heads. These are evidently copied from the Bodhisattva figures of Gandhāra which generally wear necklaces with clasps in the shape of animal heads. But in the present instance the meaning of this ornament seems to have been misunderstood. In the centre of the chest we notice

1, The British Musem contains a similar amulet holder of gold set with jewels which was discovered by Mr. W Simson in the Ahin-Posh Stūpa near Jalālābād, Cf, *Proc A. S. B.* for 1879, pp. 77—79, and 122 ff *Archaeologia*, Vol, L YIII (1902), p. 261 and plate 16,

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a disk with nine tassels attached to a thin cord which passes round the neck. To another cord, passing under the right arm, four amulet-holders are attached, such as are peculiar to the Bodhisattva figures of Gandhāra. Finally we notice the long locks falling down on both shoulders. Pndit Radha Krishna obtained this torso for Museum at the same time with seated Buddha imag A3 which had been placed at the entrance of the Damdama or Jamālpur Sarāi. There is reason to suppose that both sculptures originate from the neighbouring Buddhist site, now occupied by the Collecter's Court house. (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā* p. 43, pl. XXXIV *a*. *A. S. R.*, 1909 10, p. 69, pl XXIV *a*.)

A 47—Fragment (ht 2′ 5½″) consisting of lower portion of Budhisattva figure seated in European fashion on an ornamental stool of wickerwork. The sandaled left foot is placed on a foot-stooll on which the other empty sandal lies. The right leg, now missing, must have been drawn up in the attitude peculiar to Bodhisattva images of the Graeco-Buddhist school (Cf. *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, p. 254, plate LXVIII c and 1906-7, p. 151, plate LII*b*; Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 45, pl.XXXIV*b*) For the two images hitherto known in Gandhāra art depicting the Buddha seated in European fashion, see Hargreaves, *Handbook to sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 87. For a standing Bodhisattva image wearing sandals from Sanchi, see *Eat. Sanchi Museum*, A 84 ; A. S. R., 1912-13, t I, pl- VIII *b*.

*A 50.—Pedestal (ht. 1′ or 0 m 314) of a seated Buddha image of which only the left food marked with the wheel symbol, together with the drapery beneath the legs is preserved. On the drapery we notice two tassels apparently belonging to a girdle. In the centre of the pedestal is a wheel placed on a pillar between two standing figures of worshippers, apparently each carrying a garland and bunch of flowers. On the proper left end is a lion turned outward; the corresponding lion figure to the right is lost. On the upper and

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lower rims of the pedestal is a mostly defaced inscription in three lines the first one being completely obliterated:—

1. ....*vih* [*ā*] *r* [*e*]..............
2. ....[*pra*] *t* [*i*] *m* [*ā*] *p* [*r*] *atish* [*thā*] *pit* [*ā*]

Pandit Radha Krishna obtained this inscribed fragment from the village of Naugavā, 4½ miles west of the City south of the Govardhan road. On loan from the Government of India, Kushāṇa period.

A 53.—Fragment (ht. 1′ 2″ including square tenon) of a standing Bodhisattva (?) image, of which only the bare feet remain. Between the feet is a cluster ef lotus-buds surmounted by a full-blown lotus flower similar to that in the new Maholi Bodhisattva, No. 2798. At the sides of the image are two figurines, male and female, both standing and holding a wreath in their right and some other offering in their left hands. These figures probably represent the donors of the image. It was brought to the Museum from bungalow no. 14 in Cantonments. Its find-place is unknown.

A 54.—Fragment (ht. 1 ′ 5″ including square tenon) of a standing Bodhisattva (?) image, of which only the bare feet remain. Between the feet is a cluster of lotus-buds. It was brought to the Museum from the same bungalow as A 53. Its find-place is unknown.

*A 56.—Fragment (ht. 10″) of a pedestal of a standing Bodhisattva (?) image of which only one foot remains. On the front of the pedestal are traces of two lines of an inscription in Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa type, readings. 1 *tāye*; 1, 2, 3 gr. 1......

57.—Bust (ht.6½″) of a Bodhisattva figure wearing a torque and flat necklace similar to that of the Bodhisattva (? images A 42 and 43.) The fragment was brought to the Museum from the Joint Magistrate's bungalow. Its find-place is unknown.

A 58.—Fragment (ht. 8¾″) carved with drapery probably belonging to a Buddha image. Find place unkonwn.

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A 59. Fragment (ht. 11½″) carved with drapery probably belonging to a Bodhisattva image. Find-place unknown.

A 61.—Bas-relief (ht. 12¾″) representing a Bodhisattva, perhaps Maitreya seated cross-legged on a throne decorated with a wheel and two lions. He raises his right hand to the shoulder and holds a vessel in his left hand, on each side stands an attendant chowrie-carrier. The sculpture which is much defaced was purchased from a *Chamīr* who worshipped it as Bundelā Bābā.

A 62.—Life-size statue (ht. 6′ 1½″) including tenon of a Bodhisattva standing. Head and arms missing, pedestal defaced. Between the feet is a cluster of lotus flowers. The style of the image which must belong to the Kushāṇa period is the same as that of A 40. It was found in two pieces at the Bharatpur Gate, larger fragment being used as a wheelguard, and taken two the Musem in December 1908. On loan from the Government of India.

*A 64.—Fragment (ht. 2½″) of the pedestal of a seated Buddha figure of which only the legs are preserved with indication of the clothing and legs of attendant standing behind left knee. On the front of the pedestal is a relief similar to that on No. A 50 representing a dwarf pillar with wheel (?) in the centre, and a worshipping figure standing on each side, that to the proper left a female holding a garland in her right hand, whilst of the other, male (?) figure only the head and left arm remain. There is a lion rampton on the proper left end. The pedestal bears a fragmentary inscription, apparantly consisting of four lines of which two are placed above and two beneath the front relief.

It reads (1)...... *d*[*i*]*vas*[*e*]*30 eta* [*sya*] (2) [*purvā yām*].
......*pu*?*asya vadhu* [*ye*] *Devarakshitā* (3)
...........[*sarvā-*] *satva-hi* (4) [*tasukhāya*]

The character is Brahmī of the Kushāṇa period. The

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fragment was acquired from the Dhūnsorpārā Quarter in Mathurā city.

A 66.—Fragment (ht. 1′) of a seated Bodhisattva image of which only the left leg, right foot and left hand together with the left leg of an attendant standing on his left side and carved in the round remain. The image is made of spotless red sand stone similar to the one used in railing pillar No. 586. The attitude and style of the figure are similar to that in the Katra Bodhisattva. The characters used in the inscription are of an early type similar to those used in the early Kshatrapa period. The front of the pedestal was cut in three facets, the side ones meafuring 3″ in width and receding 1″. The central facet is carved with a rampant winged lion and a female figure standing to right in the attitude of adoration which shows that the broken part of the pedestal contained some object of worship, possibly a *dharmachakra*. The inscription is cut on the two front rims above and beneath the figures on the pedestal, also on the upper rim of the receding facet and below it. It reads :—

(1).........*(upāsi) kaye Naṁdāye Kshatrapasa*
(2).........*(Bo) dhisatva vis*.........*ṭare*
(3) *sāvasatānāṁ hitasu (khā) rtha (ṁ).*
(4) *Savasthi (va) diyānaṁ parigrahe.*

It shows that it was a Bodhisattva image set up by a female devotee nomed Nandā. The image was delicated for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin monks whose name appears under a prākritised form *Savasṭhi (vā) diyānaṁ*. The use of palatals instead of dental points to the influehce of North Western dialect. Of the hundreds of Buddhist images found at Mathurā this is the only one which refers to a Kshatrapa. We know faom the Mathurā Lion-Capital inscription that the Sarvāstivadin mooks enjoyed a specially privileged position under the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas, namely Rājul and Sodāsa. Unfortunately, not enough of the inscription is preserved, but the reference to a Kshatrapa and the Sarvāstivadin monks as well as the early form of writing

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together with the style of carving and spotless hard stone make it highly probable that the present Bodhisattva image goes back to the time of the earlier Satrapas who ruled at Mathurā in the 1st century B.C. The fragment was obtained by Pt. Radha Krishna from a shrine known as Galatesvar Mahādeva Math near the Katra where it was inserted in a wall. It is said to have been unearthed from a small mound in the neighbourhood.

A 67. Life-size image (ht. 5′ 11″ including tenon) of a Bodhisattva standing. Head, right shoulder and arm and left hand missing and carving generally obliterated. The right hand was probably raised to the shoulder and left hand either rested on the hip or held an alabastron. The figure wears a *dhotī* fastened with a girdle, and an upper garment hanging down from the left shoulder. The upper part of the body is decorated with several necklaces including an amulet string and other ornaments similar to those of the torso A 46. Between the feet we notice a cluster of lotus-buds and next to the left foot a female figurine standing to front and holding in her right a garland as an offering, whilst the left hand is placed on hip. Of corresponding figure standing on the proper right side of the image, only the feet are left. These two figurines presumably represent the donors of the statue.

The image which must belong to the Kushāṇa period was found by Pandit Radha Krishna at the Kaṅkor Tīlā near the village of Jaisinghpura 3 miles north of Mathurā, west of the road to the Brindāban. It was being worshipped as the guardian- god of the village.

A 68. Statuette (ht. 2′) of a Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, to judge from the alabastron or ointment vessel in his left hand. The right arm and part of the halo are missing, also the feet with the pedestal. The halo shows traces of a zigzag border. The hair is arranged in curls schematically treated. The figure is dressed in a long robe which leaves the right breast and shoulder bare. A loose

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upper garment hangs down from the left shoulder and from the left hand. The Bodhisattva wears earpendant, a flat torque and necklace, and two bracelets round the left arm. The present figure is in some respects similar to the Maitreya statuette No. A 43, but is decidedly superior artistically. This is particulary noticeable in the position of the legs and in treatment of the hand with the alabastron. The statuette is craved in round which is another indication of its early date. It may be safely assigned to the early Kushāṇa period. It was obtained from the Shāh-ganj mound near the Brindāban Gate of the city. (Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 81.) Vogel.*La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XXXV c A. S R., 1909-10, p- 68, pl. XXV b.

A 69. Image (ht, 2′ 5″) of a seated Buddha clad in a monk's robe; much worn. Obtained from a *bāgīchā* opposite the Bhutesar mound.

A 70. Head (ht. 7″) of a Buddha image with *ūrṇā* and pronounced *ushṇīshā*. Hair arranged in curls From Chāmuṇḍā Maṭh at Āzampur Sarāi, 3 miles from Mathurā on the Delhi road.

93—Forso of a life-sige statue (ht. 5′) of a Bodhisattva standing. Head, feet and right arm missing. Clenched left hand held at the waist. Drapery on left shoulder of *ckāmsika* variety. Twice wound knotted girdle, under garment and cluster of lotuses between the feet. The style is smilar to the colossal statue from Maholi, and A. 40, A 62 and A 63 in the Mathurā Museum. Obtained from Usphar village by Pt. Ram Ghandra who presented it to the Museum.

121—Fragment (ht. 1′ 1″) consisting of the lower part of a seated Bodhisattva image and its pedestal. The style and attitude of the image is similar to that of the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva. The pedestal consisted of a central and two receding facets similar to that in No. A 66. The side faeets were each occupied by a standing attendant, of which only a portion on left side is preserved. The pedestal is carved

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with six worshipping figures, two male, two female, and two children. On either side is a sejant lion The upper rim is engraved with two lines of inscription and the lower one with the third line I read the epigraph as follows :—

I. 1 एतस पूर्वया धर्मकासओ वणिकस कुदुविनिये

I. 2 पुशिका नगपेया बोधिस्वत्व प्रतिथापिता स्वकये चेति·

I. 3 ये कुटिये अचार्यन धर्मगुतिकान प्रतिग्रहे ।

'On this date (specified as above) this Bodhisattva image was established by Puśikā Nagapeyā (? Nāgapriyā), wife of the trader Dharmakāsa, in the [*gandha*]-*kuṭī* of her own temble for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptika teachers."

The inscription derives its value from the mention of the Dharmagutika [Dharmaguptika] sect which was a branch of the followers of the older sthaviravāda doctrines. It is proved that this community of Buddhist teachers had its establishment at Mathurā during the Kushāṇa period. The image was acquired In 1910 by R.B. Pt. Radha Krishna from the Loco Shed G. I. P. , Mathura Jn. Station.

The inscription distinctly states that the image represented a Bodhisattva (spelt as Bodhisvattva) and is similar to the Katra Bodhisattva (AI) in this respect. The record was recently editd in the *JUPHS*; July 1939, 'Further New Inscriptcons from Mathura', Ins. XIV, PI. II.

184. Statuette (ht. 8″) of a seated Buddha figure with segmented halo and plain hair. Late Kushāṇa period. From Mathurā.

185.—Statuette (ht. 9″) seated in *padmāsana* on a lion-throne marked with a *dharmachakra*. Simple halo round the head. Drapery covering left shoulder. Kushāṇa period. From Mathura city.

188. Image (ht. 1′ 7″) of a Bodhisattva seated in *padmāsana* on a lion-throne with the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the ieft placed on the left knee, exactly similar to Kaṭrā Bodhisattva. There is no inscription on the pedes-

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tal, and the number of lions is three. The figure is headless and does not possess flywhisk-bearing attendants. The muscles of the bust are vigorously modelled. The fingers and palm of the right hand and the soles of both feet are marked with various auspicious symbols as in A 1. Find-place unknown.

270.—Pedestal (ht. 5″) of a standing Buddha image showing traces of the feet and a lotus cluster between them, as also traces of the two attendants. On the front side is the figure of a Buddha seated cross legged in *abhayamudrā* with scalloped halo flanked by two kneeling worshippers. On the two rims is an inscription of which that on the lower one is completely obliterated. It reads:—*Bhagavato Śākya-munisya pratimā pratishṭhāpitā bhikshu.* It is remarkable that the standing image is definitely identified with Śākya Muni, which was the title of Gautama Buddha usually refering to him in his stage of Bodhisattvahood.

There are five letters engraved on proper left side reading *pakshominichā*.

The image which belongs to the Kushāṇa period was obtained in 1912 from the site of Kaṭrā Keshava Deva (See JUPHS., July 1937, *Ten Inscriptions from Mathurā*).

361—Head-less Buddha Image (ht. 1′-9″) seated cross legged, drapery covering both shoulders. Kushāṇa period. From Bairagpura *mohalla*, Mathurā city.

403.—Fragment (ht. 6″ × 1′-4″) of a lintel showing in the centre a Bodhisattva seated in *dhyānamudrā*, attended by a male figure clad in Indo-Scythian dress on right side and by a woman probably his wife holding lotus garland on the left. On proper right of the central panel are two Buddha figures seated cross-legged in *abhayamudrā* and on the left side one similar figure. Kushāṇa period. From Mahadeo Ghāṭ well.

*416.—Pedestal (ht, 9½″) fragment of a Buddha figure showing three worshippers on the front side and engraedv

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on the proper left side with two lines reading *sarvva-sat (v) anaṁ hitatsukhāye.* The principal part of the inscription must have been on the front side of which only two letters reading *śaka* are preserved. From Kaṭrā Mound well.

437.—Bust of a seated Buddha image with traces of *pīpal* leaves at the back. Head, right arm, and the left fore-arm Missing. Kushāṇa period. From Kaṭrā mound well.

447—Torso of a Bodhisattva figure (ht. 2′-9″). The right arm which was probably held in *abhayamudrā* is lost. The left hand is clenched into a fist and placed at the left side of the girdle. lower garment falling down below the knees. The upper *saṅghāti* covers only the left shoulder. Between the feet is a cluster of lotus buds. The general style is similar to that of the Sarnath Bodhisattva or that of the colossal Bodhisattva from Maholi. Early Kushāṇa period. Obtained from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā well.

485 Standing Bodhisattva (ht. 1′-9½″) carved in the round, and having a simple scolloped halo. The right hand which is broken was probably held in *abhayamudrā* and the left is placed akimbo. He wears an elaborate foliated turban on the head, a long scarf passing across the body and hanging from the left shoulder upto the level of the left foot and a *dhoti* fastened with a girdle. The ornaments consist of a pair of *makara-kuṇḍalas,* an *ekāvalī* necklace of pearls with a central *indranīla* (sapphire) and double armlets. The end of the *dhoti* is tied like a beautiful tassel and falls between the feet. The image is intact except for the loss of the right arm and is in a state of excellent preservation. It is a fine specimen of a Bodhisattva figure untrammeled by conventions. Made of spotted red sandstone. Early Kushāṇa period. Obtained from a Sādhu in Mathurā city.

494.—Torso (ht. 11″) of a Bodhisattva wearing ornaments including an amulet string. and having loose hair falling on both shoulders. Kushāṇa period. From Maholi ki paur, Mathurā city.

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* 507,— Fragment (ht. 7″) of a pedestal of a standing image probably Buddhist of which the remaining portion consists of the left foot and also traces of a miniature figure on left. On front face was an inscription in one line which is now indistinct. From Bharatpur Darwaza, Mathurā.

514.— Sculpture (ht. 8½″) showing a Buddha figure seated crosslegged in *abhayamudrā* on a lion-throne, An attendant in *añjalimudrā* on right side. On the back is a *pīpal* tree with two garlands hanging from it. Its chief interest lies in the chequered upper garment of the Buddha. This was technically known as *paṁsukūla* and associated with the Buddha and the Buddhist monks. For such drapery see also sculptures No. 2362, H. 9, and the monk figures on Mathurā *torana* tympanum in the Boston Museum (Dr. Vogel *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. L V, fig. b.). This Buddha statuette is described in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeologe*. Leiden, 1934, p. 14, and illustrated on pl. IV *a*. Obtained from Maholi village.

589.— Detached head (ht. 3 3/4″) of Buddha figure; with *ushnīsha* broken. The *ūrṇā* is indicated. Kushāṇa period. From Gosna Kheṛa.

591. Statuette (ht. 9″) showing a male person standing in *abhayamudrā* and holding an indistinct object in left hand in a position suggesting an *amṛita-ghaṭa*, which would make the figure identical with Bodhisattva Maitreya. Kushāṇa period. Gosna kherā.

*664. —Lower part (ht. 1′ 5″) and pedestal of a Buddha image seated cross-legged. The remnants of drapery show that it covered both shoulders. On the pedestal is a *dharmachakra* supported on a *triratna* symbol placed on a pillar flanked by two worshippers on either side. Two winged rampant lions occupy the ends of the pedestal. Its lower and upper rims contain two lines of Brāhmī inscription which is badly obliterated. The last words in the upper line read, *Siṁhakasya dānaṁ bu (dha......)*, which shows that it was a Buddha image set up by a donor named Siṁhaka. Find-place Pālikherā village.

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665—Fragmentary torso (ht. 1′–7″ of a male (?) figure wearing an amulet string and a chain as found in the Bodhisattva figures of Gandhāra. The left forearm which is preserved is richly adorned with bangles, and wristlets, and the five fingers with rings *(aṅgulīyaka)*. The upper part of the body appears to have been dressed in a *sanghāṭi*, the end of which is preserved on the right side and which seems to have covered only the left shoulder. The end of the folded drapery is schematically treated in front and on the left side. The sculpture is probably part of a standing Bodhisattva image. Kushāṇa period. From Pālikherā village.

667.—Fragment (ht. 14″) of a bas-relief showing the bust of a seated Buddha figure with a flywhisk-bearing attendant, and remnants of halo, similar in style to the Katra Bodhisattva but imperfectly preserved. Kushāṇa period. From Pālikherā.

746.—Statuette (ht. 8″) of a two-armed male figure wearing a conspicuous necklace, *mukuṭa*, ear-pendants, *dhotī* and scarf. From the conical *amṛita ghata* held in left hand it appears to have been a figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya. Kushāṇa period. From Salempur well.

867.—Statuette (ht.6″) showing a headless Buddha seated cross-legged on a *sapta-bhumika āsana* in *abhayamudrā* (cf. 438 and 2362). Kushāṇa period. From Gaṇesa Ṭīlā well, Jaisinghpurā.

885.—Statuette (ht. 6″) showing a male figure holding right hand in *abhayamudrā* and a nectar-flask in left. Probably Maitreya. Water-worn. Kushāṇa period. From Palikhera Well II.

907.—Fragment (ht. 4″) of a Buddha image showing on the obverse side bust of a flying *deva* figure and on reverse ***pipal*** foliage. This was a feature of the early Kushāṇa images of Buddha. Obtained from Well II at Palikhera.

921.—Statuette (ht. 7″) showing a headless Buddha seated cross-legged with drapery covering both shoulders

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and having a pedestal on which a Bodhisattva in *dhyānamudrā* is seated between two worshippers. Both the Buddha and the Bodhisattva have haloes. The idea of combining a Buddha figure with a Bodhisattva attended by mortal worshippers is of some significance as it shows the germs of the idea of what in later pantheon and iconography developed as a Dhyānī Buddha expressing himself through a Bodhisattva. Judging from its style the image belongs to the late Kushāṇa period. Found from Raniwala Well at Palikhera.

992.—Fragment (ht. 6¾″) relieved with a haloed figure seated in a square niche. Kushāṇa period. From Mansawala Well at Palikhera.

* 1211.—Pedestal (ht. 10″) of a seated Buddha image. One line of inscription on the lower rim of which the portion continued on the left side reads *tvanam hita-sukhāe*. From Pālikheṛā.

* 1217. Fragmentary pedestal (ht. 5½″) of a standing Bodhisattva image of which only the feet with a lotus cluster between them remain. On the front side was an inscription of which only the first letter reading *sa* is preserved. Kushāṇa period. From Pālikheṛā village.

1232 Small Buddha head (ht. 4″) showing *ūrnā* and *ushṇīsha* Kushāṇa period. From Water-works excavations in 1916.

1240. Large head (ht. 1′-4″) wearing a typical turban with rosette in front, and pendants in ears. Probably of a Bodhisattva. Defaced. Kushāṇa period. From Water-works excavation in Mathura city.

1243.—Statuette (ht. 6½″) showing a headless male figure standing in *abhayamudrā* and holding a nectar flask in left hand. Bodhisattva Maitreya. From Water works excavation in August 1916.

1259.—Portion (ht. 1′-8″ ; length 3′-2″) of a Buddha image seated cross-legged preserved from the *mekhalā* below. Fold of the *dhotī* shown infront. Left hand rests on left thight. Kushāṇa period. Find-place unknown.

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1293.—Torso (ht. 2′-4″) of standing Buddha image, head, right arm and portion draperey on left shoulder below *things* being lost. Kushāṇa period. Find-place unknown.

1302.—Bust (ht. 7″) of a small Bodhisattva (?) figure having curly hair falling in loose locks on either shoulder and wearing the usual ornaments. Kushāṇa period. Obtained by purchase.

1310.– Fragment (ht. 6″) showing a Bodhisattva with a halo of scalloped border, carved in a niche under and an ogee arch. The figure has lost its right hand and is preserved upto the waist only. Kushāṇa period. From Girdharpur village.

1335. Head (ht. 11″) of Bodhisattva (?) image wearing typical turban and foliated *mukuṭa* of the Kushāṇa period. From Girdharpur mound.

1348.—Life size statue (ht. 6′-7″) including tenon representing originally a Bodhisattva, who judging from the *amrita-ghaṭa* held in left hand must have been intended to the Maitreya. It was afterwards in medieval times converted into an object of Vaishṇava reverence and the sectarian *tilaka* mark was carved on his forehead. The line indicating the end of Buddha's drapery was by slight chiselling changed into a sacred thread. It also shows the original girdle knotted above the right thigh and the usual *dhoti* hanging between the feet, but a *janghia* was added at the time of its conversion. The resultant carving is clumsy. 'The statue is said to have been brought from the Gayatri Tila about 200 years ago and set up in an adjoining garden where it was worshipped under the name of Dānī Rāi. It was removed to the Museum by R. B. Pt. Radha Krishna in 1917. [*JUPHS*., June 1918, vol. I, pt. II, *Recent Excavations at Mathura* by Dr. A. Venis, C. I. E., p. 142, plate VI].

* 1351.– Fragment (ht. 6½″) of a standing Buddha image consisting of the lower leg with part of drapery between

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them. The face of the pedestal bears two lines of inscription in Brāhmi script of the Kushāṇa period. It reads :—

L. 1.—*Bhikhusa Budhvalasa dāna mātu.*

L. 2.—*Pituna pujāye sava-savana bha.*

"Gift of the monk Budhavala in honour of his parents and of all sentient beings."

Obtained from Jumnabagh, Mathura city. Published in *JUPHS*, July 1937, *Ten Inscriptions from Mathura.*

1366.—Image (ht. 1′-8″) of Bodhisattva, much defaced, probably Maitreya. His right hand was raised to the shoulder and the left held what a pears to have been an *amṛita-ghaṭa* Scarf thrown over left shoulder. Feet missing. Kushāṇa period. From Bajna excavation.

1405.--Fragment (ht. 9″) of the pedestal of a seated Buddha image with a lion-throne, considerably damaged. From Bajna.

1410.—Torso (ht. 12½″ of a standing male figure, probably Buddha wearing plain drapery over rt. shoulder, *dhoti* and scarf. The end of the cloth is shown across the chest. The right hand was held in *abhayamudrā* and the left is missing. Head and feet are lost. Kushāṇa period. From Bajna excavation in February 1918.

1453.—Fragment (ht. 5″) showing the head of a fly-whisk bearing attendant of a Buddha figure which was seated under a *pipal* tree, a pair of such leaves being still visible at the back of the head. Kushāṇa period. From Bajna excavations.

1514–Detached head of a Buddha figure (ht. 1′-2″) of more than life-size. The hair indicated by a line is like that of a shaven monk's head. Cf. Katra Bodhisattva A 1. The *ushnīsha* is broken, *ūrṇā* dot also shown. Ears elongated. Kushāṇa period. Find place Baladeva.

1534.—Head (ht. 5½″) with *mukuṭa* of the Kushāṇa period, probably of some Bodhisattva figure. From Sonkh village.

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*1611.—Fragment (ht. 6″ including tenon) consisting of the pedestal of a standing Buddha image bearing two lines of inscription which reads:-

L. 1. ...... *Śākya-bhikshu .... Nandisya*,

L. 2. ......*hi*......

Kushāṇa period. Obtained from Kans ka Qilā.

*1612 - Lower part (ht. 1′) of a seated Bodhisattva image. One line of inscription in the middle rim of the upper edge of the base. It reads. *Āpānaka vihāra Mahāsaghiyānaṁ parigrahe sava-Budhā-pujāye*, i. e. "(established) in the Āpānaka vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṁghika monks and for the worship of all the Buddhas". The order of the Mahāsaṁghika monks is referred to in two other inscriptions viz. 662, bowl from Palikhera and 1350, inscribed stone drain from Mātā Gali (*Epi. Ind.* XIX, p. 68), and also in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription. It appears that they wielded considerable influence amongst the religious fraternity at Mathurā. This pedestal was obtained from Bharatpur Darwāzā, Mathurā City.

1743—Small head (ht. 4¾″) of Buddha with *ushṇīsha* on head. Kushāṇa period. Purchased from Pt. Bholanath of Mathurā.

1945—Head (ht. 9″) of Buddha with protuberance on head. Hair arranged in schematic waves. Kushāṇa period. From the collection of Major Bridge.

1950—Head (ht. 5½″) of Buddha image with *ushṇīsha and* ūrṇā Hair arranged in parallel rowes of schemetic waves. Kushāṇa period. From the collection of Major Bridge.

2053—Fragment of an image of Buddha (ht. 6½″). Dapery on left shoulder, *ūrṇā* between eyebrows. Portions below the chest and rt. shoulder missing. Kushāṇa period.

2073—Pedestal (ht. 2′ -2″ , length 3′ -2″) of a Buddha image seated cross-legged similar to the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva as evident from the three lions carved on the front face of the pedestal. Kushāṇa period. Find-place unknown.

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2094.– Pedestal (ht. 3½") of a small Buddha image seated cross-legged. Between the two lions facing in opposite directions occurs the name *Mahārāja*, which is an epithet signifying the Buddha. Kushāṇa period. Obtained from the Jumna river.

* 2327—Fragment (ht. 5") of a standing Buddha image consisting of the pedestal and the two feet above it with a cluster of lotuses between them. On the front face an indistinct Buddhist symbol between four worshippers. On the proper left side are some letters reading *sava-satva-hita-sukhārtha*. Kushāṇa period. Presented by Pt. Bhola Nath of Mathurā.

2328.—Fragment (ht. 5½") of a Buddha statuette carved on the back and above the head with *pīpal* leaves Kushāṇa period. Presented by Pt. Bhola Nath.

2362.—Headless statuette (ht. 7½") of Buddha seated cross-legged in *dhyānamudrā* with chequered drapery covering both shoulders (*paṁsu-kūla-dhara*). For similar tattered robes of the Buddha see statuette No. 514 and bas-relief No. H. 9. Kushāṇa period. Presented by Pt. Govind Charan.

2484.—Buddha (ht. 5½") between two attendants, front side quite defaced and worn-out, but the back preserves beautifully carved leaves, branches and the trunk of a Bodhi tree. Kushāṇa period. Purchased by U. P. Govt. from the collection of the late R. B. Pt. Radha Krishna. Cf. statues Nos. 514 and 2328.

2504.--Bust of Bodhisattva ht. 6") wearing a flat torque necklace, a chain with a pendant *tadaka*, an amulet-string having four amulets and *garuḍa* armlet on right arm. Remnants of halo on the back. Kushāṇa period.

Purchased by U. P. Govt. from the collection of the late R. B. Pt. Radha Krishna.

2604.--Fragmentary (ht. 6") pedestal of a Buddha (?) image seated cross-legged. It is waterworn and damaged

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In the centre is an oblong *dharmachakra* on a pailaster, flanked by a worshipper and a standing lion on each side. It bears an inscription in three lines carved on three sides, but very little of it can now be made out:

sagha...........sa (?) tisaṭa tishita...........ra masya ha samaye................thito.

Presented by Pt. Govind Charan and obtained from mohalla Baṛā Chamarhānā near Dig Darwārā.

2731.--Stone head (ht. 9″) of Buddha with *ūrṇā* hole for some precious stone, protuberance on the head damaged, hair arrenged in schematic waves. Kushāṇa period. Presented by Pt. Govind Charan.

*2739—Image (ht. 2′) carved in the round showing the lower portion below girdle of the standing male figure which represents Kāśyapa Buddha. The left hand is placed on the thigh holding end of a scarf laid across the legs and carried on the back. The folds of the *dhotī* are prominently shown between the legs and there is a rich girdle the ends of which are beautifully treated in front. There is an important inscription in two lines deeply incised on the pedestal, which states that the figure represented Kāśyapa Buddha, who was according to Buddhist religion one of the previous Seven Buddhas coming immediately before Śākyamuni Gautama. The image was published in the *JUPHS.*, Dec. 1937, p. 36 ff. Pl. I and II: The inscription reads:—

L. 1. *(Ru) vakasa dānaṁ Devaputro Māgho Budhasa Kaśapasa.*

L. 2. *Padra-mahasthakena.*

"Gift of an image of the Buddha Kāśyapa by Ruvaka, chief of the village, of the Devaputra Māgho."

The words *Budhasa Kāśapasa* constitute the soul of the record and happily do not present any difficulty. Ruvaka is connected with *dānam* and must be the name of the donor. The last word *padra-mahasthakena* being in the

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instrumental case I take it to refer to the donor who in that case enjoyed the status of an officer placed in charge of a village. *Padra* means a village (cf. Fleet, *Corpus of Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 170, Note 3.) *Mahasthaka* seems to be an earlier form of the title *mahattra* found in Gupta administration (*ibid*, p. 169, Note 7). The words *Devaputra Māgho* present some difficulty. A *visarga* sign is found in the second line just below *gho* and I think that the engraver omitted to put it in its right place after *Māgho* and then tried to correct his mistake. In that case *Māghoh* would be genitive of *Māghu a magian*. *Devaputra* is a familiar title applied only to kings and therefore, *Devaputra Māghu* seems to have been a ruler of the Kushāṇa dynasty about whom nothing else is known. I would however like to refer in this connection to another name which also begins with *ma* and of which only the initial letter is left in the inscription. His titles are Mahārāja Mahā-Kshtrapa (see *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 199, Jain Inscriptions from Mathurā by Bühler. Also Luders *List,* Inscription No. 83; An Inscribed Jain Image from Kaṅkali Ṭīlā, Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Museum.) The title *Devaputra* applied to *Māghu* in the present inscription agrees well with the imperial titles Mahārāja Mahā-Kshatrapa associated with Ma....... , and it is probable that two names were identical.

The figure was found about 8′ below the surface in the main street of Mathurā city near Kanskhar when the Municipal Board carried out digging operations for laying their sewage line in May 1937. It was removed to the museum by me with the permission of R. B. Jamna Prasad, Chairman, Municipal Board, Mathurā.

2798—Colossal Bodhisattva from Maholi (ht. 9′ 6″ including tenon), obtained in July 1938.

This colossal statue is made of spotted red sandstone and is carved in the round, except in that small portion below the knees whence the image had broken, there the carving being only in relief. The head is of the shaven

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type similar to that of the Katrā Boddhisattva (A 1). On the head was the spiral lock of hair treated like a protuberance on the skull as we find in the colossal Buddha head No. A 27 and in the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva. This skull eminence is now broken away leaving a small depression in the crown of head. Between the eyebrows is a faint mark of *ūrṇā* hair. The vision is turned upwards directed towards the middle point of the brows. The ears are elongated and lines in the neck are also indicated. There is a slight remnant of halo at the back of the right shoulder. The right arm is missing but in all probability it was held in the familiar attitude of protection *(abhayamudrā)*. The left hand is clenched and holds at the waist a long scarf which passing below the fist falls loosely on the left side. The upper part of the body is only half covered by a *saṁghāṭi* in the usual pattern of the Kushāṇa period in which only the left shoulder is concealed and the right shoulder is left bare. The end of the upper drapery is marked across the chest and conspicuous folds are indicated on left shoulder and arm. The lower garment reaches down to a little below the knees and is held fast at the waist by a girdle wound twice and artistically knotted at the front with the two ends falling below like a knotted churning cord at the right thigh. Between the feet there is prominent cluster of lotus buds with a full-blown flower at the top and the whole thing surmounts a coiled heavy garland. On the exterior side of the left leg a dwarf *aśoka* tree.

This new image is similar to the colossal Bodhisattva image found at Sarnath (ht. 9′—5″) which is inscribed in the year 3 of Kanishka and was dedicated by Bhikshu Bala at the place of the Buddha's promenade (*chaṅkrama*) at Vārāṅasī. The Sarnath image shows all those particulars which are found on the Mathura statue, namely, the shaven head of a monk, *saṁghāṭi* leaving right shoulder bare, clenched left fist at the waist, twice wound knotted girdle and also the same sort of spotted red sandstone. Accident-

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ally enough the break of the right arm and at the feet are to a certain extent similar. There is, however, one noteworthy difference. Between the feet of the Bodhisattva at Sarnath we find a small figure of a *sejant* lion which according to Dr. Vogel was meant as a cognizance of the Buddha whose common appellation was Sākya Simha or "Lion among the Sākyas.". In this place the Mathura image shows a cluster of lotuses. This can be explained only in one way. The Sarnath statue belongs to the third year of Kanishka, *i. e.* the very beginning of the period of Buddha's iconography when it was felt necessary to mark the new Buddha figure by some readily intelligible Buddhist cognizance, and the lion between the feet served that purpose admirably well. The Mathura image is not inscribed on its body, but an inscribed stone piece was discovered sticking to its padestal. The inscription is dated in the year 92 which certainly refers to the famous Kushāṇa era. Thus there is found to be a gap of 89 years between the two images, if we once concede that the epigraph was contemporary with the dedication of the image, - as the circumstances of the find permit us to believe.

Another similar statue representing a colossal Buddha figure made of red sandstone and carved in the round was discovered by Genaral Cunningham during 1862-63 from the ruins of ancient Srāvastī, present Sahet-Mahet on the bank of the river Rapti (Achiravatī) in the district of Gonda in Oudh. That was also dedicated by the same Bhikshu Bala as the donor of Sarnath image. General Cunningham felt satisfied that the Srāvastī colossus must have been transported from Mathura (*Arch. Survey Report*, Vol. I, page 330).

2799—Parasol. A fragment representing the parasol *(chhattra)* was also found near the pedestal of the Bodhisattva image. This fragment now measuring 3′—3″ × 2′—2″ × 4″ must have originally been about 8 feet square, as can be judged from the radius of the central circle now pre-

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served as well as the border of auspicious symbols and lion faces. A piece of a broken brass rod is still fixed in a small hole near the vertical groove on the proper left side and another brass hook was found from the same spot during excavation. The big hole and the groove must have had something to do with the arrangement for fixing the parasol above the image. It is to be noted that the Maholi parasol was square in shape as against the circular umbrella from Sarnath (10 ft. in diameter) adorned with concentric circular bands of decoration. The Maholi specimen also bears in the centre a large lotus flower with its petals. The Sarnath parasol shows a band of twelve auspicious symbols which the Maholi *chhattra* also possessed; only four of them, namely, the lotus-garland, fruit-vase, *svastika*, and *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* have still survived. In place of the winged fabulous animals of the Sarnath *chhattra* we have here a simple border of lion-faces. Another square parasol with similar decorative pattern recently found at Mathura throws light on the arrangement by which these square *chhattras* were erected over the head of colossal images to form a small flat-topped *garbhagriha* (*JUPHS*., 1947, A new stone Umbrella from Mathura p).

2801—Inscription. A stone fragment (10″×4″) was found along with the Bodhisattva pedestal engraved with four lines of inscription in Brāhmī script of the Kushāṇa period. The language is corrupt Sanskrit with obvious mistakes of writing. The text is as follows :—

(1) स ९० २ हे १ दि ५ अस्य पूर्व्वयं
(2) खण्ड विहरे वस्थव्या भिक्षुस ग्राह
(3) दासिकस स्थुव प्रष्ठापायति स
(4) र्व सत्वनं हितसुखाये

"In the year 92, first month of *hemanta*, on the fifth day, on this date, in the Stūpa of Bhikshu Grahadāsika, a resident of Khaṇḍa Vihāra monastery, establishes for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."

The year 92 in the reckoning of the Knshāṇa era of

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78 A.D. coincides with 170 A.D. in the reign of the emperor Vāsudeva. The novelty of the record consists in the name of the monastery, namely, Khaṇḍa Vihāra, which obviously was the name of the Buddhist establishment at the site of Maholi mound. Grāhadāsika calls himself an inmate of this Vihāra. He established something in the Stūpa at that site. The object dedicated is left unspecified in the inscription, but it is obvious that the inscribed stone was buried to record the dedication of the image with which it was found.

JUPHS., Dec. 1938, New sculptures from Mathura, pp. 66-76, pl. I Bodhisattva, pl. II Parasol, pl. IV Inscription. Also JISOA., Dee. 1938, A new Bodhisattva and a Bacchanalion group from Mathura, pp. 68-72, pl. XX]

2803—Fragmentary bust (ht.7½″) of a Bodhisattva figure showing loose locks on right shoulder, and wearing necklaces similar to those on A 45, including also an amulet string. Kushāṇa period. Obtained from the site of the local Agarwal Inter College and presented by its Principal to the museum.

(iii) BODHISATTVAS WITH DHYĀNĪ BUDDHAS

510—Head (ht. 9″) of a Bodhisattva wearing a *mukuṭa* of unusual interest. The hair is held fast by a fillet and a garland which is surmounted by a projecting rosette carved with a facing Garuḍa figure. There is a row of three smaller Garuḍa figures on the right side of the central Garuḍa and another similar row on the proper left side. The total number of Garuḍa figures thus comes to seven, which of course must have been a symbolic number. The meaning of the symbolism of *Sapta Suparṇas* is unknown in Buddhist mythology but the symbol itself goes back to an older Vedic tradition where the sun was spoken of as the Great Suparṇa and his seven rays represented the seven-*folded* Suparṇa. According to Bodhisattva doctrine the

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Garuḍar served as the vehicle of Bodhisattva Maitreya, and it is possible that similar Bodhisattva images with Garuḍa emblem in the crest represented Maitreya. This head should be compared with another Bodhisattva sculpture consisting of a bust and head with seven Garuḍa figures (No. 2361). There is a continuous pearl string held in the beak of the seven Garuḍa figures which is fastened at both ends by small rosettes attached to the headdress. Judging from its style the head belongs to the Kushāṇa period. It was acquired in February 1915 from the site of Kaṭrā Keshava Deo by R. B. Pt. Radha Krishna.

[*JUPHS*, December 1938, Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Pl. I, fig. 2].

2336—Head (ht. 1′—1″) of Bodhisattva showing the effigy of a Dhyānī Buddha in the crown with a small scalloped halo. The Buddha is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a lotus representing Amitābha, the spiritual father of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara. The other noteworthy feature is a row of six miniature Garuda figures, three on each side of the Dhyānī Buddha, similar to those found on Bodhisattva heads with Dhyānī Buddha at Mathurā. cf. head No. 2573). Another similar Avalokiteśvara head with an identical headdress containing the Dhyānī Buddha, a row of Guruḍas and *ūrṇā* mark comes from Sanchi [*Catalogue of the Sanchi Museum*, B 30, PI. XV]. Both belong to Kushāṇa period.

Find-place unknown. Presented by Pt. Bholanath. [*JUPHS*., Dec. 1938, Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Plate II, fig. 7.

2361—Head and bust (ht- 9½″) of a Bodhisattva figure obtained from Dīg Darwaza, Mathura city and made of spotted red sand stone, Traces of halo at the back, loose locks falling on both shoulders. Besides the ear pendants the figure is wearing ornaments similar to those on Bodhisattva image No. A 45 (Vogel *Catalogue* Pl. X) viz a pearl

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string round neck, a flat torque, profuse pearl necklaces held in front of the breast with a *makarikā* clasp, a metallic chain with pendant *padaka* and an amulet string with two amulets (*rakshā-vīṭikā-sūtra*) and a *garuḍa kerūra* on the left arm. The head is slightly inclined to right with the look directed towards the left arm extended below. The *mukuṭa* consists of a projecting central rosette surmounting a metallic fillet in which is shown a facing Garuḍa with spread-out wings. In addition there is a row of three smaller Garuḍa figures on the right side and a similar row on the left.

Judging from the style the image belongs to the Kushāṇa period. Presented by Pt. Govind Charan. [*JUPHS*, Dec. 1938, Dhyānī Buddhas & Bodhisattvas, Pl. I, fig. 2].

1944.—Head of Bodhisattva (ht. 7¾″), water-worn, but showing in its crest the figure of a spiritual Buddha seated in *padmāsana* with right hand suspended below in an attitude which cannot be made out at present. The Buddha is flanked by two springing lion figures. According to the cult of the Dhyānī Buddhas the lion serves as vehicle of the Dhyānī Buddha Ratnasambhava. There is a round jewel underneath the Buddha's seat which is also the mark of the same Dhyānī Buddha. The head therefore most probably represented the Bodhisattva Ratnapāṇī whose Dhyānī Buddha was Ratnasambhava and the mortal Buddha Kāśyapa. Recently an image of Kāśyapa Buddha [No. 2739] of the Kushāṇa period was found in Mathurā City, and it may be that his pantheon came to be developed at Mathurā. Judging from its style the head belongs to the Gupta period. Find-place unknown. [*JUPHS.*, Dec. 1938, Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, pl. II, fig. 5.]

2367.—Upper fragment (ht. 4½″) of a Bodhisattva head obtained by me in 1934 from Mahadeo Ghat, Sadar Bazar, Mathurā. Fortunately enough portion is preserved to reveal the true character of the image to which it belonged. There

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is a Dhyānī Buddha in the crown seated in *padmāsana* with rt. hand in *abhayamudrā* and with a sealloped halo. On each side stands an attendant figure with folded hands also having a halo round the head. The composition and style of the three figures has great similarity with the group on the top of the relic casket from Kanishka's *stūpa* at Peshawar. The two attendant figures whose divine rank is indicated by the nimbus may be Indra and Brahmā. The Dhyānī Buddha has no lotus seat, but from the *abhaya* attitude of the right hand he may be taken to represent. Amoghasiddhi who is the spiritual father of the Bodhisattva Viśvapāṇi in later Buddhist pantheon. From its style the head belongs to the Kushāṇa period. The head was described in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1934, p. 14. Also *JUPHS.*, December 1938, pl. I, fig. 1.

2573.—Red sand stone head (ht. 11″) of a Bodhisattva figure. The middle portion of the crown above the head, nose and chin are damaged. The hair is held by a fillet and a double garland, which are held together, on each end by lotus medallions. On proper right side of the crown is a Garuḍa figure and next to it is a Buddha figure seated cross-legged between two dwarf trees, the left one of which is lost. There is then a gap of 8″ on account of the wearing off of the surface, on proper left side is again a Buddha figure, with one dwarfish tree and a Garuḍa figure on left. Between the two Buddha figures is room enough for three more similar figures flanked by trees. It appears that in all there were five Buddhas seated in *padmāsana* between two Garuḍas on the crown of the Bodhisattva's head. Dr. B. Bhattacharya remarks that the images of Maitreya sometimes bear the figures of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the aureole behind them. Here the figures are carved on the crown.

The head which should be assigned to the Gupta period was obtained by me from Koṭā-Chhanorā village and presented to the museum with the consent of Mr. S. B. Bhatia,

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Zamindar of that place. [*JUPHS.*, Dec. 1938, Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, p. 9, pl. II, fig. 4]

1297.—Head (ht. 1′) wearing a high crown which is adorned on the right side with a row of five Garuḍa figures. A similar group must have been repeated on the left side which is broken off. On the forehead is marked horizontally the third eye. The third eye in the forehead is a distinguishing mark of Siva. Its association with a Buddhist figure makes it probable that it was intended to represent Avalokiteśvara. According to Mr. Hargreaves the crescent moon, another symbol of Siva is associated with Avalokiteśvara. From its style the head belongs to the early medieval period. Obtained from Suraj Ghat, Mathura, in 1917.

II. GUPTA PERIOD

*A 5.—Statue (ht. 7′ 2½″) width across shoulders of a standing Buddha clad in a well-carved upper garment (Skr. *śaṅghāṭi*) which covers both shoulders. Round the waist we notice the indication of a girdle which holds up the lower garment visible above the ankles. The right hand which is broken was raised in the attitude of protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand holds the hem of the upper garment. The hair, in agreement with the canon, is arranged in schematic little curls turned to the right. The protuberance on the top of the skull (Skr. *ushṇīsha*), a characteristic of the Buddhas, is clearly marked. But there is no trace of the mark on the forehead (Skr. *ūrṇā*), another sign of *bodhi*. The nose and elongated ears are slightly injured. The head is adorned with a magnificently carved halo (diameter 3′), circular in shape, consisting of concentric, decorative bands of various designs.

The halo originally possessed a colour scheme which is only partly preserved. The central medallion in the form of a full blown sixteen-petalled lotus had the smaller sepals coloured. The first band contains a garland held above

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and below by two addorsed alligator heads, a *makarikā* ornament which was also coloured. The next band consisted of small rosettes painted in the centre. The third band was devided into six parts each separated by a lotus rosette and containing a conventionalised peacock or Garuḍa figure holding grape vine in its beak. Only the crest feathers of the Garuḍa and the vine creeper were painted. The last band was occupied by a garland interwoven with small rosettes which were painted. This was encircled by a beaded border and a segmented narrow fringe both of which do not show any traces of paint. Although the colour has now become faint it supplies evidence to show that the elaborate halo in the images of the Gupta period was beautified by being tastefully painted.

At the feet of the statue we find two kneeling figurines, partly broken, which represent a couple of human worshippers, presumably the donors of the sculpture. The right one with *ekāṁsikā* drapery appears to have been a monk, probably Yaśadinna himself. On the front of the base a Sanskrit inscription is cut, consisting of two lines in Gupta character of the fifth century :—*Deyadharmo yaṁ śākya-bhiksho (r*) Yaśadinnasya. Yad atra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu mā (2) tā-pittro āchāry-opāddhyā (dhyā) yānāṁ cha sarvva-satvā (ttvā)- nuttara-jñāna (nā)-vāptaye.* "This is the pious gift of the Buddhist monk Yaśadinna. Whatsoever merit [there is] in this [gift], let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge of [his] parents, teachers and preceptors and of all sentient beings."

The sculpture was discovered in the course of the excavation of the Jamālpur (or Jail) mound. It was found broken in two pieces by a fracture above the ankles. Apart from the missing right hand, it is in an excellent state of preservation. Cf. Growse *Mathurā* p. 115 and plate facing p. 172, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVII (1878), Part I. p. 130; plate XXI. G. le Bon, *Les Civilisations de l' Inde* (Paris 1887) fig. 94. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art* p. 170, fig. 117; Vogel, *La*

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Sculpture de Mathurā, pl. 32, p. 41, Coomaraswamy, *The Art News*, Vol. XXVII, No. 30, p. 36, fig. 12, *Hist. of Ind. and Indo. Art*, fig. 158 ; Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Hand-book*, p. 49, fig. 37, Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 50, pl. 19. Karl Khandalawala, *Indian sculpture and painting*, p. 25, fig. 34.]

A 6.—Statue (ht. 4′ 9″) of a Buddha standing in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Head and two hands broken. The drapery of the robe which covers both shoulders is indicated by schematic folds. At the feet of the Buddha are two kneeling figurines of worshippers. Judging from the style, the image belongs to the Gupta period. The statue is broken in two pieces across the kness. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907, and perhaps came from the Jamālpur site.

A 7.—Torso (ht. 4′ 4″) of a Buddha statue of which the head, hands and feet are missing. The draping of the robe which covers both shoulders is marked by schematie folds. The image stands in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Over the left shoulders part of an ornamental halo. On account of the style, the image can be assigned to the Gupta period. It was kept in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907, and perhaps came from the Jamālpur site.

A 8.—Torso (ht. 3′ 8″) of a Buddha statue standing in the attitude of imparting protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Head, right hand and feet with pedestal missing. The drapery of the robe which covers both shoulders is marked in schematic folds. Under the upper garment is shown the girdle with which the lower garment is fastened round the loins. On account of its style, the sculpture may be attributed to the Gupta period. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907, and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A 9.—Torso (ht. 3′ 6″) of a standing Buddha draped in

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a foldy robe which covers both shoulders. The girdle (Skr. *kāyabandhana*), by means of which the lower garment is fastened to the loins, assumes the appearance of a double, flat belt. The head, which must have been provided with a halo, is missing. The arms are broken off at the elbows, Evidently the right hand was raised to the shoulder and the open palm turned outward in the gesture expressing protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand probably held the hem of the monk's robe. On account of its similarity in style with no. A 5, the image may be assigned to the Gupta period. Find-place unknown.

A 10.—Torso (ht. 3′ 3″) of a Buddha statue standing in the attitude of imparting protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Head, hands and feet with pedestal missing. The drapery of the robe which covers both shoulders is disposed in schematic folds. Judging from the style, the image belongs to the Gupta period. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A 11.—Torso (ht. 3′ 3″) of a Buddha image standing in the attitude of imparting protection (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). Head, hands and feet with pedestal missing. Carving defaced. Drapery of the robe, which covers both shoulders, is arranged in schematic folds. The style of the image is that of the Gupta period. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and perhaps came from the Jamālpur site.

A 12.—Lower portion (ht. 2′ 8″) of a standing Buddha image. Feet with pedestal missing. Drapery indicated in the usual fashion. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site. Gupta period.

A 13.—Torso (ht. 2′ 5″) of a Buddha statuette standing in the attitude of *varada-mudrā*. Head, hands and feet with pedestal missing. The robe which covers both shoulders is schematically treated. On both sides of the figure

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remnants of an ornamental halo which encircled the whole body. It was preserved in the Allahabad Library up to December 1907 and was perhaps excavated on the Jamālpur site.

A 18.– Statuette (ht. 1′ 1½″) of a Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne, on which is a wheel between two lions, couchant with their heads turned back. The head of the Buddha figure with most of the ornamental nimbus is lost. The right hand, which is also missing, was raised in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*). The other hand holds the hem of the monk's robe which covers both shoulders. The soles are marked with the wheel (Skr, *chakra*) and three-jewel (Skr. *triratna*) symbols. Find-place unknown. Gupta period.

A 23. Fragment (length 1′ 11″ with 1′ 3½″) consisting of the left hand of a Buddha statue of colossal size. The statue was evidently standing in the attitude of imparting security (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*), the left hand holding the hem of the garment. Symbol of wheel (Skr. *chakra*) partly visible beneath drapery. The fragment must be identical with "the stone hand, measuring a foot across the palm, which must have belonged to a statue not less than 20 to 24 feet in height" and which, according to Growse, was excavated from the Jamālpur (or Jail) mound in 1860. It was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907. (*Mathurā* p. 107).

A 24.—Fragment (ht. 1′ 5″) consisting of part of the right leg and a portion of the left foot of a colossal Buddha figure seated cross-legged. Drapery indicated. The symbol of the wheel (Skr. *chakra*) is partly preserved on the sole of the foot. The toes are marked with five different symbols, including the mystic cross (Skr. *svastika*). This fragment must be identical with that described by Cunningham as "the right knee of a squatted colossal draped figure, with the left foot resting on the calf of the leg." It was found in the Chaubārā mound C which also yielded a colossal Buddha

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head (A 28 ?) believed by Cunningham to belong to the same statue. (*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 18 ; cf. *Mathurā*. p. 124, where the fragment is said to come from Chaubārā mound B).

A 25.—Fragment (ht. 1′ 8″) of a Buddha image consisting of a portion of the left shoulder and arm draped in a monk's robe. Find-place unknown.

A 26.—Bust (ht. 5½″) of a Buddha statuette clad in a well-draped robe which covers both shoulders.

A 31.—Head (ht. 1′ 2″) of a Buddha image of life-size, with portions of the draped shoulders and of the plain halo. Nose and *ushṇīsha* broken ; eyes damaged. Hair arranged in schematic curls. It was found in clearing a well at the village of Jamālpur and made over to the Museum by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Vost, I. M. S. Gupta period.

A 36.—Head (ht. 10″) of a Buddha (?) image of less than life-size. Nose and *ushṇīsha* broken. Ears damaged. No *ūrṇā*. The head was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907, and was perhaps excavated on the Jamālpur site. Gupta period.

A 37.—Head (ht. 11″) of a Buddha image of life-size. Half of the face is broken off. Hair arranged in conventional curls. *Ushṇīsha* partly preserved. It was kept at the Allahabad Library till December 1907, and perhaps originates from the Jamālpur site.

A 38.—Head (ht. 5¼″ or) of a beautiful Buddha figure. Find-place unknown. About 5th century A. D.

A 42.—This head, which was lying in front of a house on the top of the Menāgaṛ Ṭilā, was said to have been found at the same time as the image A 41, but it is doubtful whether it belongs to it. The image represents a Bodhisattva, whereas the head with its conventional little curls and *ushṇīsha* must have belonged to a Buddha image. Its style is of the Gupta period. The nose and ears are broken.

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A 48.—Pedestal (ht. 1′ 3½″ including the square tenon) of a standing Buddha image of which only the bare feet remain. Outside the feet are kneeling figurines of which the upper portions are lost. These two figures, male and female, probably represent the donors of the image. The front of the pedestal has an inscription in four lines, first deciphered by professor J. Dowson and re-edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet, who gives the following transcript and translation :—

1. *Saṁvvatsara-śate paṁcha-stris (triṁś)-ottaratame 100 30 5 Pushyamāse divase vi[ṁ]ś[e] di 20. Deyadharm [o] yaṁ vihāra-svāminy[ā]*

2. *Devtāyā (Devatāyāh) Yad atra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu mātā-pitroh sarvva-sat[t*]vānāñ cha anuttara-jñānāptaye.*

3. *Saubhāgyaṁ Pratirūpatā guṇavatī kīrttis sapatna-kshayah śrīmanto vibhavābhavā [h*] sukha-phalā nirvvāṇam aṁte śivam.*

4. *Astabdhāni bhavanti dāna-niratau chittaṁ niyojyaikada — — — ⏑vitāraṇa⏑ ⏑dhiyāṁ — — ⏑ — — ⏑yāṁ.*

"In a century of years increased by the thirty-fifth [year], [or in figures] 135 ; in the month Pushya ; on the twentieth day [or in figures] the day 20. This is the appropriate religious gift of the abbess[1] Devatā. Whatever religious merit [there is] in this act, let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by [her] parents and by all sentient beings.

Good fortune ; the condition of being a model [worthy of imitation], abounding in virtuous qualities ; fame ; the destruction of the enemies [of religion] ; riches abounding in prosperity ; births that result in happiness ; [and] finally, an auspicious *nirvāṇa* ; [all these] are not permanent (?) ;

---

1. 'I do not quite agree with Dr. Fleet regarding the interpretation of the word "*vihāra svāminī*" which I believe to mean "an abbess or female superior of a nunnery" and not "the wife of a Vihārasvāmin." The latter was no doubt a *bhikshu* and as such had to take the vow of celibacy.'—Dr. Vogel.

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having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts;..............."

The date of this inscription, which should be referred to the Gupta era, corresponds to A. D. 454·5. The pedestal was found in the Jamālpur (or Jail) mound probably in the course of the excavations carried on by Mr. Hardinge in 1877-8. It was removed presumably first to Agra and then to Allahabad where Dr. Fleet examined it in "the Government Museum" shortly before 1888. I found it in 1904 in the Allahabad Public Library and arranged in December 1907 for its return to Mathurā together with the other sculptures from this place.

(Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. V, p. 184, No. 8; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 36; plate XVI, no. 22; *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 262-263, no. 63; plate XXXIX A.)

A 51.—Pedestal (ht. 11″ including tenon) of a standing Buddha (?) image of which only the bare feet remain standing on a kind of cushion, perhaps meant for a lotus-flower. At the right foot there is the lower portion of a miniature kneeling figure, probably the donor of the image. It was preserved at the Allahabad Library till December 1907 and perhaps came originally from the Jamālpur site. Gupta period.

A 52.—Pedestal (ht. 1′ 10″ including square tenon) of a standing Bodhisattva (?) image of which only the bare feet remain. On each side a kneeling figurine, presumably a human devotee, can be traced. The fragment was brought to the Museum from the Joint Magistrate's bunglow. Its find-place is unknown.

A 55.—Fragment (ht. 1′ 3″ including tenon) of a standing Bodhisattva (?) of which only the bare feet remain. Between the feet is a projection which perhaps was part of the *dhoti*. To the proper right is a figurine of a male devotee, to the left a woman and a child. These three figures, which

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are much defaced, probably represent the donors of the image. The sculpture was brought to the Museum from the same bungalow as A 53. Its find-place is unknown.

120.—Head (ht. 4″) of a Buddha figure with *ushṇīsha*. Gupta period. From Maholi.

290.—Fragment (ht. 12″) carved with a nimbate Buddha figure seated cross-legged with flames of fire emerging from his sides. Gupta period. From Mathurā.

387.—Image (ht. 17″) of a seated Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*. Head missing. Drapery covering both shoulders. On pedestal a row of four figures now mutilated but probably representing Buddhist monks. Gupta period. Saptasamudri well in the compound of the Museum, Dampier Park, Mathurā.

578.—Rounded stele (ht. 1′—10″) showing an image of the Buddha in perfect preservation. The *saṅghāṭi* covers both shoulders as in A, 5, with which this image is similar. The right hand is held in *abhayamudrā* and the left holds the drapery the folds of which are indicated by lightly ever and lines. Gupta period. From Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.

668.—Bust (ht. 1′—10″) of a Buddha image with remnants of halo. Face and arms much damaged. From Pālikheṛā.

669.—Fragment (ht. 8½″) of a seated Buddha image considerably damaged. From Pālikheṛā. Probably part of 668.

671.—Fragment (ht. 3″) carved with lotus petals belonging to No. 668.

672.—Fragment (ht. 5½″) of an ornamental halo belonging to No. 668. Gupta period.

763.—Detached head (ht. 9″) of a Buddha figure with curly hair and *ushṇīsha*. Gupta period. From a well in Gosna village.

870.—Statuette (ht. 7½″) of a standing Buddha with

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drapery covering both shoulders as in A 5. Gupta period. From Pālikherā well.

877.—Head (ht. 6½″) of Buddha with spiral hair on head. Gupta period. From Pālikherā well II.

939.—Statuette (ht. 6″) of Maitreya standing in *abhaya-mudrā*, holding an *amṛitaghaṭa* with left hand. The hair is tied in a top knot forming the cranial protuberance and the ear lobes are elongated. Drapery covers both shoulders and a scarf is thrown our the left arm. The portion below the knees is broken. Gupta period. From Raniwala well at Pālikherā.

1176.—Head (ht. 5″) of Buddha image with *ushṇīsha* and spiral hair. Gupta period. From the Yamunā.

1223.—Head of the Buddha (ht. 1′—6″) with hair treated in conventional curls and an *ushṇīsha* on the head partially broken. Buff sandstone. Gupta period. From the village Tumolla, *tehsil* Chhata. It was discovered by Mr. N. C. Mehta, I. C. S., in March 1916.

1242.—Fragment (ht. 1′—3″) of a Buddha image with remnants of a cluster of lotuses between the legs. Gupta period. From Waterworks excavation.

1246.—Head (ht. 11″) of Buddha image, with hair arranged in schematic curls and *ushṇīsha* on head. Ears, nose, forehead crest damaged. Gupta period. From Waterworks excavation.

1390.—Head (ht. 11½″) of a male figure with moustaches like those in Gandhāra figures. Protubarance of hair on the skull and the hair treated in frizzled locks. Pupils are indicated. It probably belonged to a Buddha image carved after the style of the Gandhāra Buddhas. Gupta period. Find-place Bajna village.

1391.—Head (ht. 11½″) of Buddha image with elongated ears, *ūrṇā* dot on the forehead and *ushṇīsha* on the skull which is broken. The hair is shaven and indicated by a line on the forehead. Gupta period. From Bajna village.

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1510.—Tarso (ht. 3′ 6″) of a Buddha image. Head feet and arms missing. Drapery like A 5. Gupta period. From Naroli village, Presented by Pt. Ram Chandra, Hony. Asstt. Curator in 1918.

2033.—Bust (ht. 7½″) of a standing Buddha figure without head and arms. Traces of halo on both sides of the neck. Elaborate drapery covering both shoulders and body. Gupta period. From the collection of Major Bridge.

2113.—Beautiful small head (ht. 2″) of Buddha, portion above the forehead is broken. Gupta period. Erom the Jumna river.

2309.—Head (ht. 7½″) of a Buddha figure with conventional hair, *ushṇishna* and *ūrṇā*. The face has moustaches and was apparently made in imitation of a Buddha head from Gandhāra. About 5th century A. D. Presented by Pt. Govind Charan.

2337.—Small Buddha head (ht. 2½″) with *ushṇīsha*, *ūrṇā* and spiral curls. Gupta period. Presented by Pt. Bhola Nath.

2364.—Small stone head (ht. 3¾″) of Buddha figure with *ūrṇā* and *ushṇīsha*. Gupta period. Find place Baṛā Chamarahānā, Mathura. Presented by Pt. Govind Charan.

2492.—Statue (ht. 9″) of standing Buddha with halo and with flames issuing from both shoulders. The *uttarīya* covers both shoulders and arms, leaving free only the hands and feet. The right hand is held in *abhaydmudrā*. Between the feet is a spiral cluster of flowers. Gupta period. Purchased by U. P. Govt. from the collection of the late R. B. Pt. Radha Krishna.

2566.—Fragment (ht. 13″) of an ornamental halo belonging to a Buddha image similar to that of A 5. It is carved with four concentric bands arranged round a central lotus. The first one is decorated with a design consisting of flattened beads, the second with *champākalī* design, the third with leogryphs and scroll alternating with rosettes, and the fourth with an elaborate conventionalised garland. The image of

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which this halo formed part must have belonged to the Gupta period. Obtained by Mistri Roshan Lal in digging the foundations of a house in the city.

III. MEDIEVAL PERIOD.

A 39. Head (ht. 5½″) of a small Buddha (?) image. Nose broken. Hair arranged in short schematic curls. *Ushṇīsha* on top. No *ūrṇā*. Pupil in left eye indicated ; right eye, lips and chin slightly injured. Elongated ears, the lobes touching the shoulders ; ears broken. Medieval period.

1004.—Head (ht. 6″) of Buddha with *ushṇīsha* and spiral hair. Early Medieval period. From Mansawala well at Palikhera.

1300.—Head (ht. 8½″) of Buddha, with skull protuberance, spiral curls and elongated ear lobes. Early Medieval period. Find-place unknown. Obtained by purchase.

2667.—Head (ht. 10″) of a Buddha figure with hair arranged in schematic curls and tied by a garland. A high protuberance on the skull and a small *ūrṇā* dot. Early medieval period. Obtained in 1936 by me from Sītlā Ghātī Mathurā.

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BUDDHA AND BODHISATTAVA IMAGES

in the Mathura Museum.

By

V. S. Agrawala.

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A VISIT TO THE LUMBINI GARDEN,

THE BIRTH PLACE OF THE BUDDHA

By Mr. C. B. Dube, M. Sc.

The Lumbini Grove is in the Nepalese Tarai not very far from Nautanwa which is the nearest railway station for the intending visitors to the place.

We left Gorakhpur by the Gorakhpur-Nautanva Passenger in a party including Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji amongst others. We reached Nautanwa a little before midnight.

In the morning we started in a bus for the place of the holy birth of Buddha Śākyamuni.

A dusty road soon led our rickety bus to the town where we stopped to take a few provisions for our lunch.

We did not find anything notable in the town. A row of dirty looking houses on both the sides, some double storied, and a few shops here and there were all we saw. But there were some pretty and hardy Nepalese women with multicoloured clothes who compelled our attention. Who knows some of them may still have Śākya blood in their veins[2].

We rattled and rattled along, passing innumerable hamlets and groves. The road became slightly better and after driving about three and a half mile we reached the Nepal border. A row of white pillars demarcated the Nepal territory from the British. Crossing the border we drove due west. In a village a man in red turban halted us. We were told he was a policeman and wanted to see our authority for entry into Nepal. On being assured we had one he let us drive on. The police station where he stood was no better than the neighbouring hut.

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After driving for about eight miles we reahed a river and the bus stopped. We were asked to get down as the bridge on the stream was not safe for a loaded bus to cross. We got down and walked across the river on the bridge. The bridge was made of logs and was old and rickety. The earthwork had already given way at places and we wondered if the bus would be able to pass over it. But it bumped across, throwing heaps of earth in the stream, and shaking the bridge as if it were an earthquake. We got in again and proceeded till we crossed another stream in the same way and yet another.

At about midday, Dr. Mookerjee pointed to a mound not far away and told us that we had reached the Lumbini Garden. We had now covered 16 miles from Nautanwa. After driving for about twenty minutes more over a circuitous road we halted at the Inspection House built by the Nepal Government at the Lumbini Grove for the convenience of the visitors about twelve years ago.

There are two suites of well furnished rooms in the Inspection House and no rent is charged from the visitors. Tea and light refreshments are also served to the visitors at the expense of the Nepal Government.

After taking a little rest we were led by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji to the ruins. The Asokan monolith which is responsible for the discovery of the site of the Lumbini Garden attracted our attention first and how we stood near it contemplating the scenes connected with the birth of the Buddha and the visit of Asoka, as the historian read and translated the inscription for us is difficult to describe. How we wished the passage of time were to be reversed and we could see those glorious events ourselves!

Let us, leave the present for a while and carry our imagination back to 623 B. C. when the place where we now stand was not a dry barren land covered with bricks and rubble, but a beautiful and cool grove, giving immense

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comfort to a tired traveller who happened to break his journey there for a brief mid-day siesta.

Latest researches in Ancient Indian History reveal that Buddha Sākayamuni (Gautama Buddha) was born in the Lumbini Grove in the year 623 B. C. The site of this grove which was visited by Asoka, Fahien and Hiuen Tsang among others was, however, forgotten till it was rediscovered here in the Nepalese Tarai by Dr. Fuhrer of the Archaeological Department in 1896. Our debt for the discovery of this site is due to Emperor Asoka who, in commemoration of his pilgrimage to this place in the year c. 250 B. C. set up a stone pillar at the spot where the Buddha was born. This pillar was seen and described both by Fahien and Hieun Tsang, Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the 5th and 7th Century A. D., respectively. A search for the pillar was, therefore, made from the clues obtained from their 'travels' which led to the discovery of the pillar standing at the very spot where it was erected by Asoka with its inscription at the base.

Before describing the circumstances leading to the discovery of the pillar and the details of the site and the inscription, it will be better if I give briefly the history of the Lumbini Garden and the birth of the Buddha therein as is available from the ancient Buddhist literature.

The Buddha was the son of King Śuddhodana of the Śākayas. It is not known with certainty whether the Śākya State was a kingship or a republic. Tradition treats the Buddha as a born prince but probably it was interested in magnifying his social status to enhance the value of his renunciation and sacrifice. This much, however, is certain that he was born in a rich and aristocratic family.

The Sākya territory was bounded towards the west by the Kosala kingdom, towards the east by the Lichchhavis and towards the north by the river Rohiṇī beyond which lived the Koliya clan. Both the Śākyas and the Koliyas depended upon the Rohiṇī for irrigation which, therefore,

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was a constant cause of feuds between them. The feuds were, however, temporarily patched up by a matrimonial alliance resulting in the marriage of the two daughters of the Koliya, Mahāmāyā and Mahā-Prājapatī Gautamī with Śuddhodana. Mahāmāyā became the mother of the Buddha.

When the time of her confinement drew near, Mahāmāyā expressed to her husband her desire to leave Kapilavastu; the capital of Śākya country and visit her relations in their city, Devadaha. Her request was granted. The entire road, as the legends say, was decorated and Mahāmāyā started in a golden palanquin in great pomp, escorted by a thousand courtiers. Between the two cities lay a Sal (Shorea robusta) grove, owned by both the clans jointly and called the Lumbini grove. The trees were in full blossom and the grove was alive with humming bees, butterflies and fluttering birds. Pleased with the beauty of the grove, Mahāmāyā stopped there to rest and disport . She stood under a magnificent Sal tree, catching one of its branches in her right hand. And then the pains came upon her. A curtain was hung around her and the delivery took place while she was thus standing.

So far the story is plain. Then follows the legendary account glorifying the birth of the Great One-the appearance of Mahā Brahmā, gods receiving the Buddha on a golden net, gushing up of the two streams of water from the sky, refreshing the mother and the child, offerings of gifts to the newborn by gods and men and so on.

The mother and the child were then taken back to Kapilavastu which burst into gaiety and rejoicing.

The Lumbini Garden is one of the four important places for the Buddhists. The other three are Both-Gaya where the Buddha attained enlightenment, Sarnath, where he delivered his first sermon and Kusinagar (modern Kasia) where he attained Nirvāṇa. It is said that at the time of his death, the Master enjoined upon his followers to visit these four places regularly and the devout pilgrims carried out his

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instructions till two of these places-the Lumbini Garden and Kusinagar were forgotten and even their sites were lost.

Among the notable personalities who visited these places was Emperor Asoka. He ascended the throne in about 274 B. C. and four years afterwards he was anointed Emperor. He visited Lumbini Garden on a pilgrimage twenty years after his anointment. He was accompanied by Upagupta, his spiritual adviser. Upagupta was living at Mathura and he was invited by Asoka to Pāṭaliputra. The Emperor expressed to him his wish to "visit, honour and mark by a sign for the benefit of remote posterity all the spots where the Blessed Buddha had sojourned." Upagupta agreed to take him to those places and Asoka started on his pilgrimage accompanied by a large army. The first place visited was the Lumbini Garden and when they reached the spot where the Buddha was born, Upagupta extending his right hand said to him, "Here, O Great King, the Lord was born ; at this site, precious to behold, the first monument in honour of the Buddha should be consecrated." The Emperor after presenting one hundred thousand gold coins to the people of the country raised a Stūpa and retired. By his command a stone pillar was set up at the spot bearing a brief inscription giving the circumstances of the famous visit.

The historical importance of Asoka's visit is obvious. But for it, there would have been no stone pillar and the discovery of the site of the Lumbini Garden would have been impossible. It was the stone pillar with its inscription intact which led to the identification of the site by Dr. Fuhrer in 1896. The pillar was seen and described by Hiuan Tsang and his narrative was also largely responsible for the discovery.

Fahien's description was brief. He says: "54 li (about 8 1/3 miles east from the city of Kapilavastu was a garden named Lumbini, where the queen (Mahāmāyā) entered the pond and bathed. Having come forth from the pond on the northern bank, after walking 20 paces, she lifted up her

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hand, laid hold of a branch of a tree and with her face to the east gave birth to the heir-apparent. When he fell to the ground he immdiately walked seven paces. Two dragon kings appeared and washed his body. At the place where they did so there was immediately formed a well and from it as well as from the above pond, where the queen bathed, the monks even now constantly take the water and drink it".

Hiuen Tasang gave more details. He described the bathing tank of the Śākys, a Stūpa where the two dragons had bathed the new-born prince, two fountains of pure water with two Stūpas by their side at the places where the two dragons had appeared from the earth, another Stūpa in their south and four more Stūpas close to them marking the spots where the four gods received the prince in their arms. By the side of these Stūpas and close to them he described "a great stone pillar on the top of which is a figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka-Rāja. Afterwards by the contrivance of a wicked dragon it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a small river which flows to the south-east. The people of this place call it the "river of oil."

The discovery of the Asoka pillar in 1896 by Dr. Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarai not only led to the identification of the site of the Lumbini grove, but also proved correctness of the description given by Hiuen Tsang and the Buddhist sacred books. The Nepal Government had directed General Khadga Shamsher to carry out the excavations in the Tarai under the advice of Dr. Fuhrer. The General was camping at Paderia two miles north of the Nepalese Tahsil town-Bhagwanpur. Close to the camp near the debris of four Stūpas, stood a slightly mutilated pillar rising 10′ above the ground. It was covered with numerous records of the pilgrims' visits. When the surrounding debris were removed, it proved to be an Asokan monolith 22′—4″ high, standing upon a masonry platform and bearing about 9′—8″ from its base an inscription of Asoka. The pillar tapers

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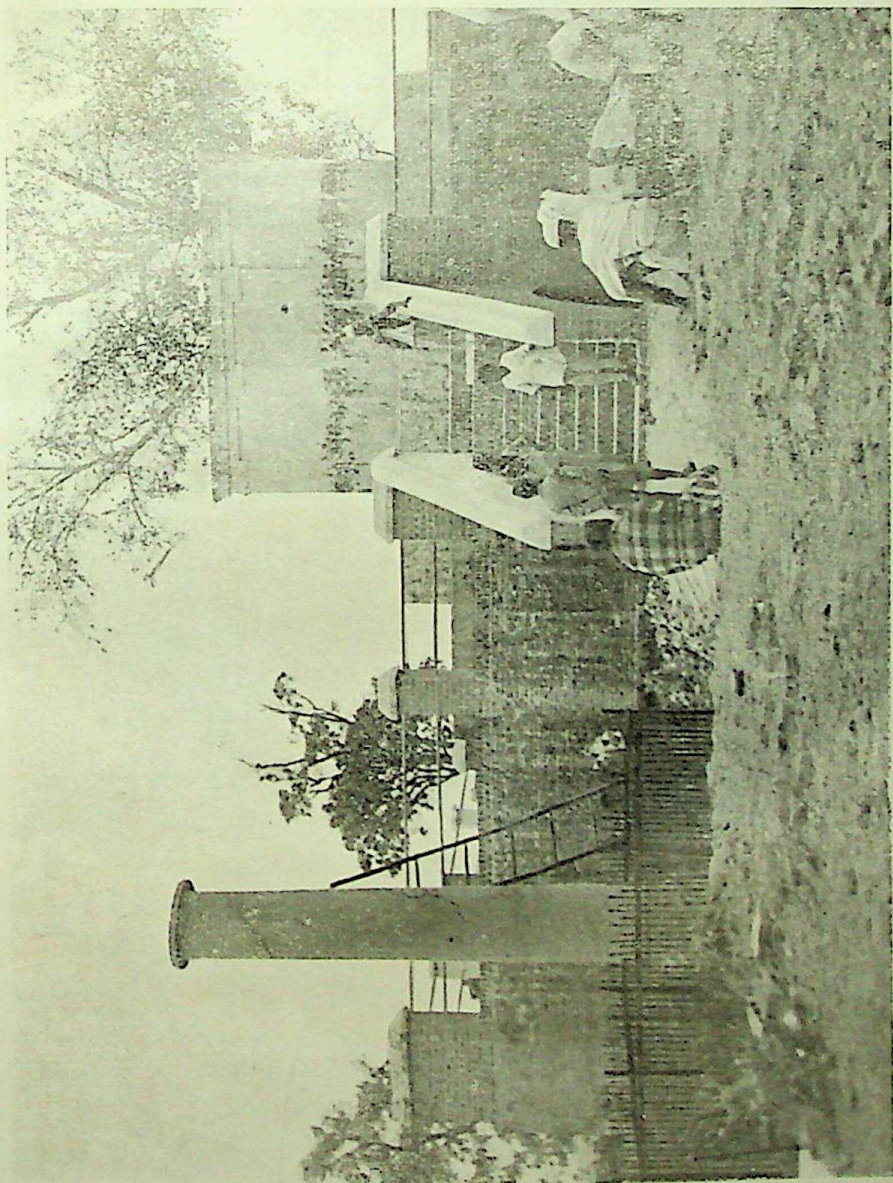
As'okan Pillar at Lumbini

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slightly, its circumference at the base being 8′—3″ and at top 6′—6″; 18″ from the base is a square brick railing 2′ 2″ high.

The text of the inscription is as follows:—

1. देवान (पि) येन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसति वसाभिसितेन
2. अतंन आगांच महीयित हिद बुध जाते सक्यमुनीति
3. सिला विगड़भीचा कालापिता सिला थभे च उसपापिते
4. हिद भगवं जाते ति लुंमिनि गामे उबलिके कटे
5. अठभागिये च।

"By His sacred and gracious Majesty the King, consecrated twenty years, coming in person, was worshipped (this spot) in as muchas here was born Buddh Sakyāmuni. A stone bearing a figure was caused to be constructed and a pillar of stone was also set up, to show that the Blessed One was born here."

The village Lumbini was made free of religous cesses and also liable to pay only one-eighth share (of the produce).

But, as Dr. Mookerji told us at the Inspection House after he had taken us round the ruins, he now slightly differs from his former interpretation of the inscription. He now thinks that the third line of the inscription records the setting of the pillar and the statue portraying the birth of the Buddha, extracted from the ruins and enshrined in the temple to be described shortly. I must say I differ from Dr. Mookerji's new interpretation for three reasons: Firstly, up to the time of Asoka the Buddha was never representated in statues: secondly, the modern word '*bhi*' in its modern sense has never been used anywhere else in Asokan inscriptions and, thirdly, Hiuen Tsang clearly mentioned "a pillar with a figure of a horse" in his 'travels'. The former interpretation of Dr. Mookerji agrees with his description but the latter does not. A lot of other criticism can be brought to bear against Dr. Mookerji's interpreta-

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tion but being irrelevant to the present article I leave it alone. *

The testimony of this inscription regarding the identification of the site of the Lumbini garden cannot be shaken by any adverse criticism except by showing that the pillar has been brought to its present site from some other place which is very improbable. But there is independent evidence to show that it is standing on its original site. Hiuen Tsang, as stated above, mentioned that the pillar stood close to four Stūpas. The ruins of these Stūpas are still discernible. He further stated that the pillar was surmounted with a horse-capital which was afterwards struck and broken by a wicked dragon. This exactly agrees with the observed facts. The capital is wanting and the pillar is spilit longitudinally for most of its length. It appears to have been struck by lightning which knocked down the capital and split part of the pillar. Buddhist superstition ascribed it to the anger of the Nāgas or 'dragons' of the the Chinese pilgrims. It will be remembered that Hiuen Tsang made no mention of the inscription which could not have escaped the notice of a keen observer like him. The reason is that it was covered by an accumulation of debris at the time of his visit and all knowledge of its existence had been lost. One of the records of the pilgrims on the pillar is dated about 700 A. D. This portion must, therefore, have been accessible to the pilgrim who engraved it and the surface of the ground must, therefore, have been what it was at the time of the discovery for about eleven hundred years. When the excavation of the pillar was undertaken the inscription was found 3′ below the surface of the soil and 9′ · 8″ above the base of the pillar. It is clear from these facts that the inscription must have been

* The most simple and straight forward explanation of the phrase *silā-vigaḍa bhīchā* is a high wall of stone, similar to the one mentioned in the Ghosundi inscription under the name of *pūjā-silā prākāra*.—V. S. Agrawala.

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covered with debris at about A. D. 700. It seems impossible that 3′ of rubbish could have accumulated in 64 years which elapsed between the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit and engraving of the oldest pilgrim's record at the top. Further, this deserted site is still locally called Rummindei, the first part of which evidently represents Asoka's Lumbini and the Pali Lumbini.

After photographing the pillar and its inscription we ascended a flight of steps leading to the temple in the east enshrining the sculpture, representing the Nativity of Buddha. It shows Mahāmāyā in a standing position, holding a branch of a Sal tree in her right hand after her delivery. She is attended by three persons two of whom appear to be women. Their identity is uncertain as the statue has been defaced on account of the application of *ghee* and *bandan* by over-zealous Hindu worshippers. The figure to the right and below the right hand is supposed to be that of Mahā-Prajāpatī Gautamī, sister of Mahāmāyā. The third tall figure is that of God Indra who is said in the legends to have received the Bodhisattva on a cloth. The fourth figure appears to be that of a female attendant.*

The little figure at the foot is that of the infant Bodhisattva standing, as the legends say immediately after his birth. The statue which is the work of a master artist appears to be very ancient. As already mentioned, Dr. Mookerji thinks that it was fashioned by Asokan artists and set up at the same time as the pillar. According to his latest ideas the pillar inscription actually makes a mention of it.†

The present temple was built by an ascetic some four years before the discovery of the pillar. The statue itself was extracted from the ruins, but the exact spot at

* The figure seems to be a male attendant wearing a foliated *mukuṭa* as seen in Mathura sculptures of the Kushāṇa period. He is the companion of Indra.—V. S. Agarwala.

† See note by V. S. Agarwala at the end.

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which it was found is not known. The temple has been constructed on the ruins of one of the Stūpas and is a mean-looking rectangular building. A massive rectangular pucca platform has been built all round the temple with an iron railing and a flight of steps in the east leads to a well to be described shortly. As the platform has been constructed much later, its level is higher than the floor level of the temple which is consequently approached by a flight of steps descending into the temple. These steps give a false idea about the antiquity of the temple.

On the northern and southern sides of the door of the temple are heaped up numerous broken sculptures. Most of them are crude in design and execution requiring no attention except the bell of the pillar capital placed on the northern side. It is fashioned in the shape of a lotus and is split longitudinally. It appears to have been thrown down by the same stroke of lightning which struck and split the pillar and was extracted from the debris after the discovery of the pillar. On it was surmounted the horse described by Hiuen Tsang. Even in its present worn-out condition it displays the glory of Mauryan art.

From the platform we descended the steps on the east and proceeded to the well already referred to. Fahien had seen this well and basing his accounts on legends stated that immediately after his birth the Buddha "walked seven paces. Two dragon kings appeared and washed his body. At the place where they did so there was immediately formed a well and from it ....monks even now constantly take the water and drink it." Seen from a distance the well no longer looks ancient as its platform has been repaired and cemented. But on looking into it, its antiquity is at once evident from the size of the bricks. The well is still in use.

From the well we proceeded to southeast of the temple and passed through a mass of ruins of ancient buildings. The excavator who directed the excavations of

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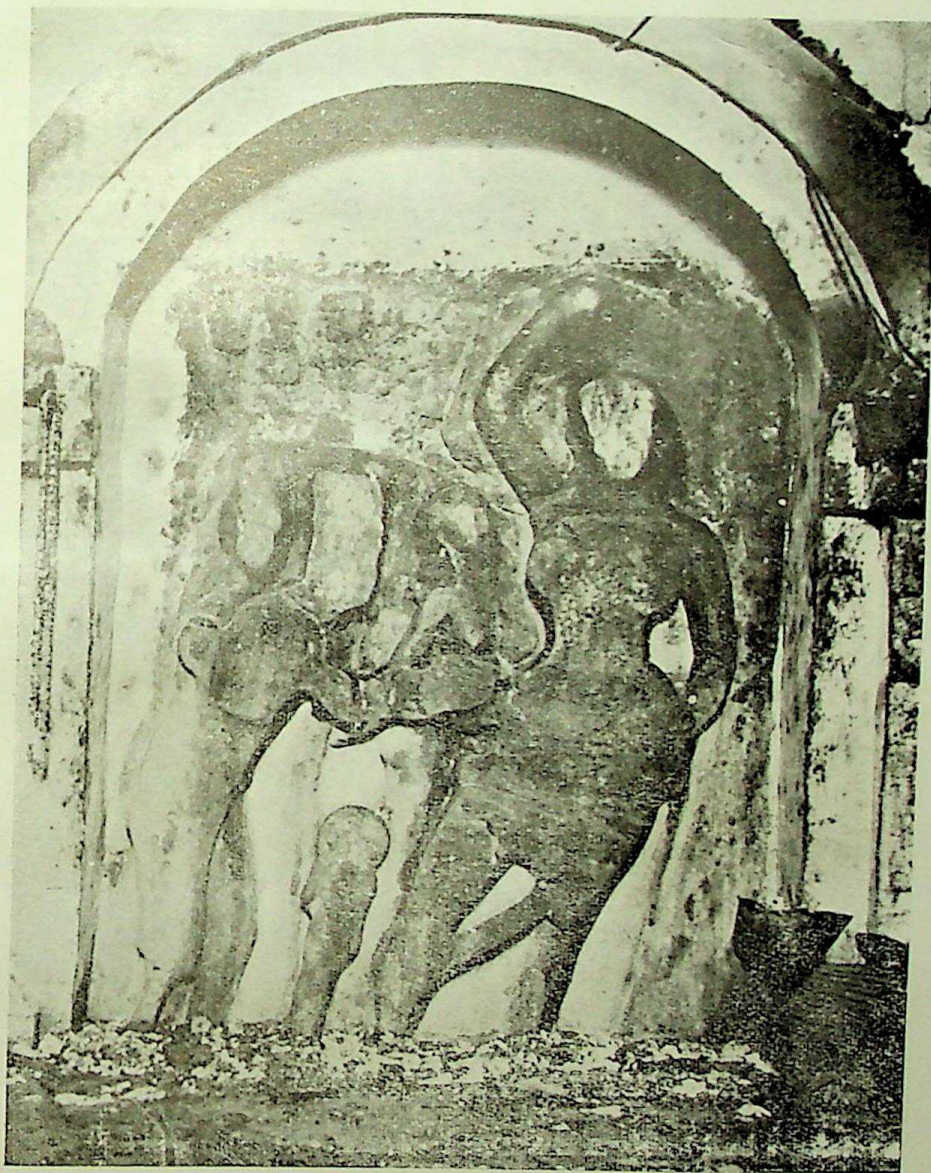
IMAGE OF MAYADEVI AT LUMBINI

[The original as examined by me is made of Red sandstone of Mathura and belongs to late Kishana period M.M. Nagar].

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these buildings was undoubtedly a poor archæologist and had probably no knowledge of the art. The spade has been used so recklessly that it is now impossible to identify any of the buildings. Some of them undoubtedly appear to be bases of votive Stupas built by pilgrims in memory of their visits. Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to preserve any of the foundations and walls unearthed and brick by brick is being removed by ignorant visitors. All around we found bricks from these buildings strewn about and how we wished the Nepal Government had conserved this site in the same way as the Archæological Department has conserved the site of Kusinagar at Kasia. The conservation of this site is neither difficult nor expensive. The ruins are not extensive and can be surrounded by a boundary wall. A garden with ornamental trees should be laid on the grounds thus enclosed with suitable footpaths. The foundations of the buildings and the Stūpas unearthed should be repaired with specially moulded bricks of the same size and covered with a layer of earth to prevent damage by rain. All removal of bricks should be prohibited as also other damage to the ruins. The statue in the temple should be protected by a three-foot high iron railing in the front and all offerings other than those of flowers should be prohibited. The flaking of the statue which was set in should also be prevented by an application of a suitable chemical preservative. Other sculptures lying about the ruins and in front of the temple should be collected at a suitable place and surrounded by an iron railing like the Asokan pillar. No further construction of any kind should be allowed on the site.

From the ruins of these buildings we proceeded to the Sākya tank, a square tank in the west close-by. It is about 50′ x 50′. Flights of steps have been constructed on all the sides leading to the water last year and it no longer, therefore, retains its ancient looks. It is in this tank that Mahāmāyā took her bath shortly before her delivery. After

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her bath she "came forth from the pond on the northern bank", walked 20 paces and gave birth to the Buddha at the spot where the Asoka pillars stands.

With the tank our rambles through the ruins came to an end, as there remained nothing else to see. We, therefore, proceeded to the Inspection House. As we went we could see the Tilar Nadi going round the ruins. This is the "river of oil" of the Chinese pilgrims. It is a small sluggish stream like other streams of the Terai and the surface of the water has still got an oily film. Before we finish the description of the ruins a huge mound of earth in the south with a masonary pillar at the top and a huge brick platform in the east also need a passing reference. None of these structures are old. They have been constructed out of the debris removed from the ruins which has thus been conveniently disposed of.

We requested the gentleman in charge of the Inspection House to show us the relics and antiquities discovered at Lumbini during the excavations.

A rat-eaten and rickety pine-wood box was shortly brought in and one by one the antiquities were taken out and piled on the table. There were several nicely sculptured heads of Buddha, a beautiful small slightly broken limestone carving of the Buddha sitting on a lotus which appeared to be of Burmese origin, a large oblong baked seal cast with the figure of a man with a drawn sword in the centre, some writing in the 5th century characters on each side and marks of strings on the back, a number of terracottas, one or two bronze statues, a small crude statue of Gaṇeśa, many clay and stone spindle-whorls, two or three small glass balls, a few useless and shapeless pieces of stone, two or three modern Nepal coins, etc. We were told that all these 'antiquities' were discovered in the ruins. Most of them were broken or otherwise injured by a reckless use of the spade by the unskilled excavators and no records were kept of the layers in which they were found and their relation

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to each other so that their historical value could be determined in writing the history of the site. Undoubtedly, some of these relics are of great importance and deserve better care and attention than they are getting. They are being spoiled by friction against each other as the box is brought for each visitor and taken away and they are also likely gradually to be lost. I would suggest to the Nepal Government to preserve them in a glass case in one of the rooms of the Inspection House, each with a label giving all that is known about it.

The relics soon found their place back into the box. Every one thanked the Nepal Government for the construction of the Inspection House and the courtesy shown by their officers. But the Nepal Government should take early steps for the preservation of the relics and the conservation of the site, or else there will remain nothing to preserve or conserve.

By now it was time for us to leave. Silently, we took our seats in the bus after wishing goodbye to the local officials. We drove round the ruins, crossed the Tilar Nadi and started towards Nautanwa by the way we had come.

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A NOTE ON THE NATIVITY SCULPTURE AT LUMBINI

By V. S. Agrawala

It is worthwhile reproducing what Babu Puran Chandra Mookerji who made a survey of the ancient sites in the Tarai wrote about this group-statue of Māyādevī.

"I may bring to prominent notice the sculptured group of Māyādevī. Its size is about 5½′ by 3¼′ in height and breadth. Though it is completely defaced, yet, from what remains, it appears to be once an excellent example of the ancient art, being of the style of workmanship which is generally associated with the time of Asoka the Great. This group-statue is of the yellowish kind of stone, which was employed in the edict pillars and in the two famous Yaksha door-keepers Dvārapālas) of Pāṭaliputra, now in Calcutta Musuem. The composition of the group is no less spirited than artistic. The group consists of four female figures, of whom that on the right is Māyādevī. She stands in a graceful attitude, holding the branch of a Sala tree with her right hand, while with her left she adjusts her lower garments. The head and body are defaced, but the background above shows delicate gradation of relief in exhibiting the branch and leaves of the tree, contours of the head and hands show the skill of a master-hand, and her hair falling in wavelets on her left shoulder maintains the balance with the right hand raised up to hold the branch. Dignified action is exhibited in her whole attitude.

On the right of Māyādevī, and immediately below her right hand, stands, close by, a female attendant of younger age and smaller stature, with her right hand raised to help her. Her pose bespeaks considerate action; while the third figure, probably Prajāpati Gautamī, the younger sister of

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Māyādevī, energetically comes in bringing water, presumably from the tank of the Sākyas, and bends her person to give it to her, thus reminding us of the suddenness of the delivery. But the fourth figure stands as a spectator talking and meaning business in her own way of aiding the queen. The queen, however, is already free from the pains of delivery; and infant Bodhisattva descending on the earth from her right side, and having taken the first seven steps indicative of the seven-fold initiation before the attainment of Buddha-hood, stands triumphant, knowing full well that this was his last birth, and that henceforth he was free from the miseries of further re-incarnation. It would be well if the missing fragments that have peeled off are recovered from the ruins and reflexed in their proper places to convey the full meaning of this most interesting and, I should say historical group-statue, which was probably executed under the orders of Asoka in the second century, after the death of Buddha".

The nativity group is reproduced by P. C. Mookerji on Plate XXIV a of his book by wood-cut block. Mr. Dube's photograph is so far as I know the first photographic illustration of this important sculpture, although one wishes that this photo were more distinct. I have not seen the original myself, but on stylistic grounds I do not think it can be assigned to the reign of Asoka. The oblique fold of the *dhoti* running from the knee of the proper right leg to the thigh of the left leg of Māyādevī is a typical Kushāṇa feature. The wavy flowing locks of Mahā-Prajāpati Gautamī also cannot be a Mauryan feature. Although the details of Indra's head are defaced, there is a suggestion of the projecting high crown on his head as seen in Kushāṇa representations of this deity. The fourth figure on left is not a

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P. C. Mookerji, *A report on a tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the region of Kapilvastu, during February and March*, 1899, Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing 1901. (Pp 37 & 38).

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female but male attendant wearing a foliated *mukuṭa* typical of the male figures in Kushāṇa art. In Mookerji's woodcut illustration he is wearing a cloth band round the chest (*vaksha-bandhana*) which is seen on other Kushāṇa sculptures also. On grounds of style, therefore, I think it is warranted to assign it to the early Kushāṇa period, or more precisely the reign of Kanishka.

Babu P. C. Mookerji's remark about the stone calls for attention. I take it that the stone is not that of the Asokan pillars—which is pinkish Chunar standstone, but the same as that of the famous statue of Kanishka, a yellowish rather buff-coloured, stone which is used in the case of a limited number of Mathurā sculptures beginning from the statue of Parkham Yaksha to the Kanishka portrait and other images of the reign of Kanishka. It seems to me that the famous Buddhist places of pilgrimage were surveyed, identified and marked more definitely in the reign of Kanishka and statues of Mathura origin were sent to sacred spots at Sarnath, Kasia, and Śrāvastī and Lumbinī where the present Nativity group has been found. The sculpture however, requires to be published from better photographs and to be examined more closely. Other fragmentery sculptures hoarded up at the site should also be examined for ascertaining their stylistic affinities with Mathura art.

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A NOTE ON INDIAN SEALS

By Dr. Moti Chandra, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

It is known from Sanskrit literature that Indian kings, their councillors, high offiicers of state and merchants had their personal seals known as *nāmamudrā*. The *Arthaśāstra* (Text, 3rd ed., pp. 109-110) throws some light on the use of these seals in commerce. It is said that as soon as the goods reached a Customs House, the Superintendent, with four or five assessors (*śulkadāyin*), approached the merchant and made inquiries about his destination, the quantity of the goods he carried, their prices and whether they were properly sealed or not (*abhijñānamudrā vā kṛtā*). The fine for unsealed goods was twice the original price of the goods; the fine for forged seals *kūṭamudrā* was eight times as much, and if the seals were broken or effaced the merchant had to stay for a day in the lock-up. For falsifying or changing the king's seal a fine of one and a quarter *paṇa* per load was realised.

Letters and other ducuments were as well sealed. It is mentioned in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* (I, 158) that the orders issued by kings were sealed with clay. In the *Mudrā-rākshasa* (Act V) it is said that the letter written by Chāṇakya bore the seal impression of Rākshasa (*Rākshasya mudryā lāñchhitah*), and Chāṇakya's jewel-casket also bore a similar seal impression of Rakshasa (*tasyaiva mudrayā lāñchhitā iyam ābharaṇapeṭikā*). It is also mentioned in the *Śakuntalā*, famous drama of Kalidasa, that Duṣyanta while parting with Śakuntalā offered her his signet ring (*nāmākshar āṇi*).

There was, however, quite a different type of seal exclusively used for passports. It has been described by Kauṭilya in his section on the duties of the Superintendent of Passports (*Arthaśāstra*, pp. 140-141). It tells us that the Superintendent charged a fee of one *paṇa* for issuing a

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passport. Those furnished with passports could freely move in the countryside and also could sail across the seas. A fine of twelve *paṇas* was, however, levied on those who entered the country without passports. Those who used false passports were also punished. The punishment meted to foreigners for not possessing passports was very severe. The Superintendent of Grazing lands was empowered to check passports.

Passports were also considered necessary during war. It is said in the *Mudrārākshasa* that Siddhārthaka was arres-as he had not obtained a passport from Bhāgurāyaṇa whom Malayaketu had appointed officer in charge of the camp. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata (Āraṇyaparvan* 15, 18) that when the Ṣālvas attacked Dvārakā the entry or exit from that city was strictly prohibited (*na chāmudrobhiniryāti na chāmudrah praveśyate*).

The seals found from Rājghāt may be divided into four classes, (1) passports, (2) seals of the state officials, (3) seals of the bankers and merchants, and (4) temple seals. An examination of these seals reveals that a channel on their reverse is due to the sloping nature of the objects to which they were attached. The thin criss-cross appearing on them indicates the impression of threads or twines with which they were bound. It appears that objects were at first bound with two folds of the thread which was then knotted. On this knot a lump of damp clay was fixed and then sealed. From a few seals it is evident that the object was at first. tied with a string which was then taken over the earth coat-ting, and above it a lump of clay was affiixed for sealing purpose. This is evident from the seals with one or two holes. These holes went right across, because the threads passing through them were cut while removing the seals. The same method of sealing has been found in the seals from Basarh (*A. S R., Ann. Rep.*, 1933-04) and Bhita (Ib., 1211-12, pp. 45-46). Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the passport seals do not bear any string marks and are perfectly baked.*

* The article on Rajghat Seals will continue in the next Volume.

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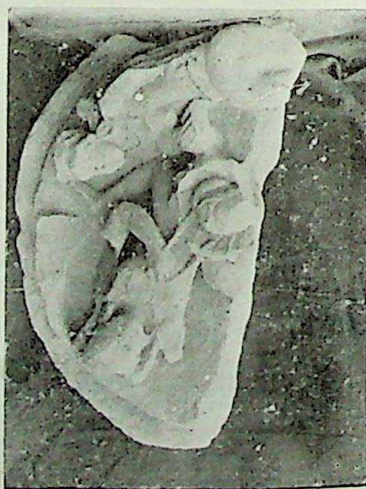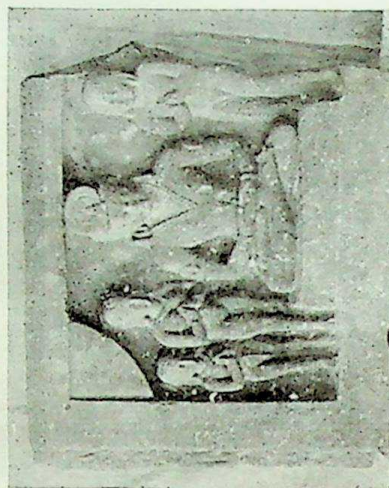
SOME NEW MATHURA FINDS

By K. D. Bajpai, M. A.,

Curator Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

Recently a number of sculptures and terracottas have been acquired from various sites in the Mathura district and added to the rich collection of the local Archæological Museum. The following of them being more remarkable are described here. All of the sculptures mentioned below (No. 1—12) are made of the famous red sand stone of Mathura.

1. *Part of Jaina Āyāgapaṭṭa* (M. M. No. 3496; 2′-2½″ × 1′-1½″; fig. 1). This piece of sculpture represents the one-half portion of a Jaina *Āyāgapaṭṭa* (tablet of homage), which originally must have been square in shape. Till recently it formed part of an inside wall of a house in Chaubiapara Mohalla of Mathura City from where it was brought to the Museum. The second half of it has, however, not been discovered so far.

On the extant slab there are three concentric hands, each richly carved. The central one has in the middle the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara seated in meditation (*dhyānamudrā*). There is a parasol above his head. On the right of the Tīrthaṅkara is a male devotee with folded hands, while on his left is a female *chauri*-bearer. Within the second circle are carved three pairs of fish-tailed crocodiles [1], each pair holding a full-blown stalked lotus. The third band contains a wheel (*chakra)* on a pilaster, surrounded by a *nandipada* symbol. On each side of it is carved very artistically a pair of male and female worshippers with garlands in their

1. For an interpretation of the association of crocodile (*makara*) with fish (*mīna*) in Indian art see V. S. Agarwala—*A Short Guide Book to the Archl. Section of the Provl. Museum, Lucknow*. p. 9.

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hands [1]. The male and female figures on either side and close to the *dharmachakra* are offering their homage to it. At the left corner of the band is a tree within railing[2] and on corresponding right corner is another auspicious symbol [3]. On each of the two remaining extremeties of the *Āyāgapaṭṭa* is shown a winged female supporter [4]. The representation of all the figures on the slab is superb and full of life and action. This is a beautiful specimen amongst the Jaina Āyāgapaṭṭas of Mathurā made of red sand stone; stylistically it can be assigned to the early Kushāṇa period.

2. *Part of a Tympanum* (No. 3367, 1′–5″ × 1′; fig. 2). It is carved on one side only. Originally there were three arched panels, of which the lowermost is lost. In the upper panel is shown the worship of a *stūpa* by abnormal creatures, one half being human-faced winged crocodiles and the rest half lions. In the second panel below is shown the worship of a sacred tree by similar fabulous beings [5].

This tympanum originates from the famous Kankālī Tīlā of Mathura and belongs to the Kushāṇa period.

3. *Frieze showing Adoration of Bodhisattva.* (No. 3231; 1′ 4″X1′ 2″; fig. 3). This rectangular frieze, of which only

1. Cf. *Āyāgapaṭṭa* No. J. 248 in Lucknow Museum (Smith, *JainaStupa*, Pl VIII), on which female worshippers only are shown, all having their faces to left. Cf. also J. 250 (Smith pl. IX).
2. Cf. the tree within railing on J. 250 being worshipped by males and females. The other two distinct symbols of worship here are a *stūpa* and a Jina in *dhyānamudrā*.
3. This is probably the same as the 3rd symbol in the lower row on the Āyāgapatta No. J. 249 in the Lucknow Museum (Smith pl. VII).
4. Cf. the figures on J. 248 and J. 250.
5. Similar worshippers are to be seen on a fragmentary tympanum (M. M. No. 129, See. *fig. 2A*). Cf. such creatures (though not human-faced) on a tympanum No. J. 555 in Lucknow Museum (Smith pl. XX). On the *Āyagapaṭṭa* No. J. 248 are shown human-faced winged lions.

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the right portion is preserved now, has in the centre figure of Bodhisattva seated in meditation (*dhyānamudrā*) on a rectangular padestal. Besides a *dhoti* he wears a crown embossed with lotus, ear-rings, a necklace, armlets and wristlets. On his right-side are standing two females, one grown up and the other a young girl, with their hands folded in adoration. The pose of the elderly lady with her head a little bent (किंचिदवनत पूर्वकाय) is graceful. Both the devotees are wearing transparent *sārīs*, a round ornament on the forehead, ear-rings, a torque an wristlets. On the left of the Bodhisttva stands a male figure, probably the husband of the elderly lady, with his hands folded in adoration. He wears a lower garment reaching up to the knees and an upper garment on his left shoulder. The sculpture belongs to the Kushāṇa period and was discovered at Maholi, three miles south-west of Mathura.

4. *Kāliyamarddana Kṛishṇa*. (No. 3374; 2′ 2″×1′ 5″; fig. 4). This piece of sculpture was found at the famous fort of Kaṅsa (*Kaṅsa Kā Kilā*) in Mathura city, when a foundation was being dug for some building. Unfortunately the sculpture was found in a broken condition. From the extant portion it is clear that the whole object was round in shape and was probably placed in a round niche in the outer part of some Vaishṇava temple. Only half of the sculpture now remains, the other half could not be traced inspite of our best efforts.

There are three figures in all, carved in high relief. The figure on the left and the central one are male the second being that of a Nāga, as is evident from the sanke hoods over his head [1]. The third figure on the right is that

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1. The representation of Kāliya in later art, particularly in bronze and painting, is almost invariably found in the snake form (सर्पविग्रह) and not in the human form (पुरुषविग्रह). Cf. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I pt. 1, pp. 212-13, pl. LXIV; Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, pl. LXVII; Coomaraswamy-*H. I. I. A.*, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 268.

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of a Nāgī, which is clear from the snaky portion below her waist. The first male figure is undoubtedly that of Kṛishṇa, His right hand is completely broken and part of the left arm has also disappeared. He wears a crown, round ear-lobes, a necklace and wristlets. He has pounced upon the Nāga (Kāliya) and has subdued him, as is evident from the *pāśa* held by him, with which the Nāga has been tied around the neck. Kṛishṇa has flung his legs over Kāliya. Of Kāliya only the mutilated head with hoods now remains. The Nāgī, apparently Kāliya's queen, is depicted in a submissive attitude carrying some offerings for Śrī Kṛishṇa in her hands. She is praying to the Lord for mercy.

The Nāgī's hair-dress, decorated with pearls in the front and the nicely combed tufts of hair having been artistically tied behind, is remarkable. She is wearing round *karṇakuṇḍalas* and a necklace. Her left breast and the left hand have been badly damaged.

This is a beautiful specimen of the Gupta art of Mathura and is an important addition to the scanty number of so far known early images that are associated with Kṛishṇa's life.

The fact that it was discovered in the ruins of the '*Kaṁsa-Kilā*' shows that the site goes back at least to the Gupta period. Excavations at a greater depth in the area may bring to light antiquities of earlier epochs.

Although the worship of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa goes back several centuries before the Christian era, as we find it referred or alluded to in a few Brāhmī inscriptions[1] as also in some early literary works[13], his images or scenes from his life, which can be dated before the Medieval period, are few compared with the extant number of images of other Hindu gods and goddesses. Even Mathura, the birth place of Kṛishṇa and the centre of his numerous youthful activities which can rightly boast of having produced not only

1. Viz. Nagari, Besnagar, Nanāghat and Morā inscriptions.

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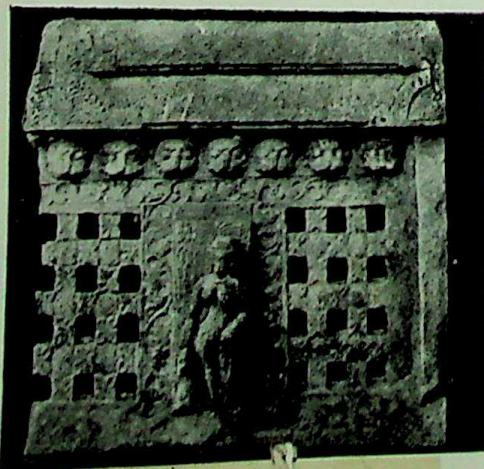
the earliest images of most of the deities of the Hindu pantheon but also of Buddha and Bodhisattva and of a number of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, has yielded practically no antiquities connected with the life of Śrī Kṛishṇa. So far only two early sculptures of Kṛishṇa's life were known from Mathurā[14]. Both are exhibited in the local Archaeological Museum. One of them (No. 1344) is a relief depicting Vasudeva with the new-born baby Kṛishṇa over his head crossing the river Yamunā in order to take the child to Gokula. This relief is datable in the 2nd cent. A. D. and is the earliest representation of Kṛishṇa's life in stone so far discovered[15]. The other sculpture (M. M. No. D. 47) is of *Govardhanadhārī* Kṛishṇa, in which he is holding the mountain on his left palm[16]. The image belongs to about 6th cent A. D.*

5. *Bust of Sūrya* (No. 3384; 1′ 10″ × 1′ 6″; fig. 5). This interesting bust shows the god in the northern fashion (*udichyaveśa*). He wears a high ornamental *mukaṭa* and a coat of arms, profusely decorated. In his ears he has *kuṇḍalas* of lotus-buds. He holds two full-blown stalked

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13. e. g. Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī (VI, 3, 6; II, 2, 34), Patanjali's *Mahābhāshya*. (c. on Pāṇini, II, 2, 34, IV, 3, 98-99) *Mahā-Bhārata* (Śānti P., ch, 344-348), *Mahāniddesa*, *Bhagavadgītā* (VII, 19) etc.

14. Other early sculptures representing Krishṇa-Līlā have been discovered at Mandor (Ancient Māṇḍavyapura in Jodhpur State (A. S. R., 1905-6, pp. 135-40, and plates): at Sūratgarh in Bikaner State (A. S. R., 1917-18, pt. I, pp. 22-3, pl XIII); at Devagarh at Jhansi Distt.; in the Badami Caves. No. II & IV (A. S. I. Memoir No. 25, pl. XII, XXIII-XXV) and at Paharpur (A. S. I. Memoir No. 55) Medieval images of this deity have been found in Sarnath; in the Kailash temple at Ellora; in the Vaisṇava shrines of the time of Haihayas of Tripurī (A. S. I. Memoir No. 23, pp. 100-106, pl. XLII (b)-XLIV); in the (Panchapāṇḍava temple of Mamallapuram and in the Prambanam and Panataran temples of Java.

15. See V. S. Agarwala—*Handbook of Mathura Museum*, p. 29.

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lotuses (*sanāla kamala)* one in each hand. Behind is a halo with three concentric bands. The first consists of lotus petals. It is surrounded by the second one with scroll work. The third hand is decorated with rays. On each side of the god, Ūshā and Pratyushā are shown in the pose of discharging arrows in their hands. Above in the crown are shown garland-bearing figures. The halo is embossed with a beautiful rosette.

The image is of considerable iconographic interest in so far as it represents the blending of the two forms—foreign and Indian—during the transitional stage. It belongs to the post-Gupta period, when the foreign element was giving way to the indigenous form of Sūrya icon. The Persian influence on the early Sūrya images can distinctly be seen in about half a dozen statues of this god exhibited in the Mathura Museum (e. g. MM. No. 269, D. 46, 930), in which he is represented as seated in a squatted manner on a chariot of two or four horses, holding a small sword and a lotus flower in his hands and clad in the dress of a Śaka king.[17]. The Medieval images of this god, on the other hand, show him mostly in standing poses and some-times seated cross-legged with a stalked full-blown lotus in each of his hands. Except for the shoes he is shown clad in the

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16. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archl. Museum, Mathura*, p. 105.

* Another fragmentary sculpture of red sand stone of Mathura representing Kaliyamardana Kṛishṇa, originating earlier from one of the Mathura sites and datable to the Gupta period is now deposited in the Lucknow Museum.

—V. S. Agrawala.

17. Agrawala—*Handbook to Mathura Museum*, p. 36. Vogel. *op.cit.* p. 104-5; of the figure of Sūrya illustrated by Coomaraswamy in the *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XX, p. 72, in which the god has a conical cap on the head and holds a club and staff. In style it very much resembles the Mathura figures referred to above.

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Indian style[18]. He is also often accompanied by the two goddesses, Ushā and Pratushā and below his figure are almost invariably shown seven horses[18A].

The new Sūrya image resembles very much the two complete Gupta figures, No. 595 and 2339, in the Mathura Museum, which both are in standing pose. But the details in the new image are much clearer than in any of the two. Though the lower part of the present image is broken, it may be inferred from the resemblance with the above two images that in this case, too, the god was clad in *dhotī* and a scarf around his waist.

The image has been brought to the Museum from village Runakta, about 26 miles from Mathurā on the Mathurā-Agra road, the alleged birth place of Sūradāsa, the most celabrated Hindi poet of Vraja.

6. *A Monolithic Stone Window.* (No. 3379 ; 2′ 4″ × 2′2″; fig. 6). This almost square architectural piece is carved out of a single stone. It was oiiginally fixed in some building to serve as a window (*gavāksha vātāyana*). In the middle of it there is a graceful figure of a standing lady. In her right hand she has a bunch of fruits which a boyish figure standing below is touching. The left hand of the lady rests on her thigh. She wears a *sārī*, necklace (*ekāvalī*) and round ear rings. There is a blossoming tree above her. On her right there are eight rectangular *gavāksha* holes and on the left twelve. The row of decorative lion-heads on the border above and the artistic scroll work are noteworthy.

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18. The indigenous style can be traced back in the earls images of Sūrya found at Bhājā and Bodh-Gayā (see Burgess-*Anct. Monts. of India*, pt. 2, pp. 178 and R. L. Mitra- *Buddha Gaya* pl. XL.)

18 A. A number of Medieval Sūrya images are known in the Mathurā art, e, g. see Mathurā Museum images No. 122, 123, 124, 155, 888, 1220, 1363, etc.

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This is a beautiful piece of architecture of the Gupta period and originates from the old Madan Mohan temple Vrindaban.

There are already two other complete *gavākshas* in the Museum made of monolithic stones. One of them (No. 2072) has in the centre a royal figure with a garland and is decorated with lotuses. The other (No. 2584) has beautifully carved half-rosettes and full-blown lotuses. Both of them belong to the Kushāṇa period. The new piece shows that provision of richly carved windows mostly in palaces (*prāsāda-vātāyana*) was continued at Mathurā upto at least the Gupta period, when architectural decoratinn became more refined. These *gavākshas* also exhibit all the four parts of a railing, viz. the upright pillar (*stambha*), cross-bar (*sūchī*), the base (*ālambana*) and the coping stone (*ushṇīsha*).

7. *A Female Torso.* (No. 3458; ht. 2′1″, fig. 7). This torso[19] was found in two parts, which now have been joined together. Both the hands and feet with ankles are broken. There are rich ornaments on the figure, viz. a torque, ear-rings, a necklace (falling in the middle of the breasts), armlets and an elaborate girdle. Part of her hair falling on the shoulders can be seen. The ends of the scarf passing around her loins have been artistically tied over her right thigh.

This is a beautiful specimen of the early medieval art of Mathura and was acquired from the Mansā Devī temple, about 10 miles south west of Mathura city.

8. *Male head with spiral turban.* (No. 3445; ht. 1′; fig. 8). The turban on this Kushāṇa head is prominently

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19. Compare this with other female torsos from Mathurā, esp. No. 1324 and 1600 in the Mathurā Museum.

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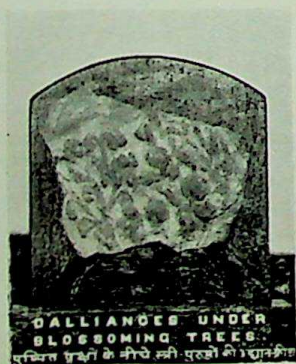
HEAD OF BODHI SATTVA

TERRA COTTE TORSO

FEMALE & SWAN

TOILET SCENE

GARDEN SPORTS

ELEPHANT WITH RIDERS

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shown in six spirals. Only one such example is previously known in Mathura art[20].

9. *Head of a Bodhisattva* (?) (No. 3446; ht. 1′ 5″; fig. 9.) This is a remarkably fine Kushāṇa head, probably of a Bodhisattva, with an elaborately arranged head-dress. In the right ear there is a heavy *karṇa-kuṇḍala* shaped as a winged lion emitting pearls. The design of pearl-emitting lion-faces became popular in the Gupta art of Mathura.*

10. *Terracotta Torso* (No. 3362; 10″ × 7″; fig, 10.) This female torso, though badly mutilated, is a fine piece, being gracefully posed, as if engaged in a dance. The drapery consists of only a *dhoṭi* artistically tied on both sides of the waist. There is a double torque (*graiveyaka*) in the neck.

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20. Smith—*Jaina Stupa*, pl. CI, fiig. 2; this head is now in the Lucknow Museum.

* This head is to be ascribed to the transitional period between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta times (about third century A. D.) showing a combinatian of Kushāṇa and Gupta features. The smiling face, the foliated bands in the headdress and the turban are of Kushāṇa style. But each one of these shows also an evolved feature, e. g. the upper eyelids on the face are broader, a Gupta sign, and the line of the hair is more arched at the sides. The turban shows a hanging piece in front which is a Gupta feature; the lower-most roll of the turban shows a bulging tendancy—rare in Kushāṇa style. The background of the turban looks like a miniature blind railing which is shown in Gupta art. The pendant pearl string in the ears also speaks more in favour of early Gupta age.

—V. S. Agrawala.

21. Cf. other such plaques in the Mathura Museum, No. T. 6 (with Nāga-Kanyā); 2824 (with a Suparṇa carrying a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa)*; 2795 (showing harem scene) and 1629 (with Ardhanārīśvara).

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The figure is moulded on a decorative[21] plaque and belongs to the Gupta period. Find place: Ambarīsh Ṭīlā in the Mathura city.

11. *Female with Swan.* (No. 3402; ht. 3″; fig. 11).—This torso of a female figure shows her with a swan. The lady wears a thick necklace (which passes over her left shoulder and then through the middle of her breasts), armlets, wristlets and a broad *mekhalā* over the *dhoti*. A scarf is artistically tied round her slender waist, on both sides of which are floral designs. The drapery resembles with that of the Museum terracotta figures No. 1179B, 2255, and 2934. With the left hand the lady is holding her *mekhalā*, which is apparently falling down[22]. To her right stands a swan[23], with part of a flower in its beak.

There are traces of a red slip on the figure. It is one of the finest examples of Gupta terracottas from Mathura. It was found in the Mahavidyā Ṭīlā of the city.

It is interesting to note that early in 1934 a replica of this very figure was obtained. It is No. 2418 of the

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22. Women holding their *mekhalās* was an attractive device with the Mathura artists. See Mathura Museum railings No. J. 10, J. 14, J. 71, also terracottas Nos. 1199B, 2418, 2934, 2255, 3405, 3334 and 2652... Cf. also Kālidāsa's description of the falling girdle स्रस्तां नितम्बादवलम्बमाना पुनः पुनः केशरदाम काञ्चीम् । Kumārasambhava, III, 55.

23. Association of birds with women was a very favourite idea with the Indian artists. In the Mathura art we find a number of such examples (see M. M. exhibits No. 1199A 2592, 3115 and 3334 in clay and No. 258, 1307, and 1595 in stone; also see B. 92 in the Lucknow Museum). Terracottas from Kauśāmbī, Rājghāṭ and several other sites exhibit similar devices. In literature we often meet with *śukakrīḍā* as one of the pastimes of women.

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Mathura Museum and is almost complete. The head shows heavy head-gear and round ear-rings *(tāṭaṅka-chakra)*. In that figure the right hand of the lady is complete. It is raised up and holds a lotus flower to allure the bird. The broken details of the new plaque can thus be determined with the help of this replica.

12. *Toilet Scene*—(No. 3410; ht. 4"; fig. 12). Like the preceding figure this is an exact copy of a terracotta plaque (No. 2254 in the Mathura Museum; fig. 15A) found in the city in 1932. Both the figures are more or less equally well preserved. although the face of the new figure is much more mutilated. Stylistically they belong to the Śunga period.

In this plaque a female figure is shown seated on a wicker seat *morhā*[24] under a tree, the fruits and leaves of which are visible above. She wears a tunic and a petticoat reaching upto the knee. The latter is prominently lined indicating its pleated nature[25]. She has a waistband (*kaṭibandha*) and a girdle (*mekhalā*) falling on hips. In her right hand she holds a mirror and with the left she is arrang-

24. Compare this with the seat of Lakshamī on the reverse of some Gupta gold coins (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pl. V, 3, 8 (also obverse), IX, 17, X, 3 and pl. XIII.

25. This kind of dress is rarely met with on early Mathura female figurines. Cf. the petticoat of a Mathura railing figure No. B. 26 (now in Lucknow Museum). See Motichandra,—*Indian Costumes*, J. I. S. O. A., VIII, (1940), p. 213. See also V. S. Agrawala, Ahichhatra Terracottas, fig. 40.

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ing her hair, probably with the application of some perfume[26].

This tarracotta piece is of grey colour and was found in the Girdharpur mound, about 2 miles north-west of the city.

13. *A Scene depicting Garden-Sports (Udyāna-krīdā)*. No. 3357; 4″×4½″; fig. 13)—This very interesting small terracotta piece shows one male and two female figures engaged in sportive dalliances under blossoming trees. The female in the middle holds a *vīṇā* in her left hand, while her right hand rests around the neck of her male companion. The lady on her left is engaged in dance. Her right hand is raised up and the left is half bent.

The flowering trees, with their bunches of flowers bent down, present an atmosphere of complete joy, peace and harmony. Our ancient literature abounds in references to various delightful garden sports[28]. Similarly in Indian art we find trees and creepers and other objects of Mathura playing an important part in creating a pleasant atmosphere

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26. Applying of perfumes, mostly musk, *aguru*, sandal oil and *lodhrachūrṇa* to the hair was very common with the ancient citizens (see *Chullavagga*, V, 2, 3.4; *Ummadanti Jataka* (No. 527); also Jataka No. 546 and 557: *Kāma Sutra*, I, 4, 8; Vāgbhaṭṭa—*Ashṭāṅga Hṛidaya*, III, 53; *Silappadikāram*, p. 95 and 126. In Mathura art there are a number of toilet scenes See No. 186 (Nanda-Sundarī, a similar one No. J. 533 being in Lucknow Museum)? J. 5 (lady rubbing cream—like thing on her cheeks with the help of a mirror; J, 64 (lady with a mirror) etc.

28. e. g. see *Matrya Purāṇa*, Ch. 120; *Buddhacharita*, IV, 1-53, *Raghuvaṅśa*, IX, 24:47; *Sākuntala*, Act. I,: *Vāsavadattā*, *Kumārapālacharita*, III and *Jānahṭharaṅa* of Kumāradāsa, canto III.

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for sweet dalliances of men and women. The artists of Mathura, by bringing forth a close association of Nature with human life, succeeded in producing sculptures and terracottas of supreme art and beauty. This happy association can be seen in a number of exhibits in the Mathura Museum[29].

Unfortunately due to the present piece being fragmentary, the complete scene is not available[29 A]. The headdresses and other features of the male and female figures clearly show that this terracotta belongs to the Śuṅga period.

14. *Terracotta Elephant with Two Riders.* (No. 3408; ht. 9″; fig. 14)—The trunk, tusks and part of one of the front legs (recently reconstructed) are broken. There is a leafy decoration (*patra-rachanā*) on the head and ears of the elephant. Besides, there are floral designs (*pushpāstaraṇa*) here and there. The neck and back of the animal are well tied up. The two male riders are seated close to one another, the one behind is holding the other by the side. Both of them are wearing earings and neck-collars. Their conspicuous heads-dress is interesting. The terracotta is to be assigned to the Śunga period.

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29. e. g. see Terr. No. 3184 in which a female is shown standing under a blossoming tree. The sculptures No. 1508, G. 48, F. 23, F. 17, J, 6 and J. 26 show female in a number of attractive poses standing under flowering trees and engaged in various pleasant activities (*lilāvyāpāra*).

29A. There are two complete specimens of this plaque, all apparently from the same mould and from Mathura, one in the Patna Museum and one in the Central Asian Museum. The scene shows a Dampati figure under a tree, enjoying music, and witnessing a dance performance of a female dansuese in a garden—V. S. Agrawala.

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So far three such figures in terracotta were known from Mathura[30]. The first (M. M. No. 2467; ht. 5″) shows only the torsos of the two riders, the one in the front holding the animal by ears. The second piece (No. 2630; ht. 4″) shows the front rider with a goad in right hand holding the elephant's left ear with his left hand. In the third (No. 2631; ht. 3¼″) the elephant is completely lost and the two riders only can be seen.

Among the above terracotta figurines, all belonging to the Ŝunga period and depicting almost the same theme, the new figure (No. 3408) is certainly the best, as it is much more well-preserved in respect of the details of the elephant and its riders. It was acquired from the Maholī site.

30- The only scene of its kind in stone so far discovered at Mathura is one depicted on a Sunga cross-bar (MM. No. 1341), in which a tusked elephant with its two male riders in carved inside a beautiful lotus medallion. See Agrawala, *Handbook of the Mathura Museum*, pl. IV, fig. 7.

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Fig. 1

Fig. 5

Fig. 2

Fig. 4

BUST OF A FEMALE

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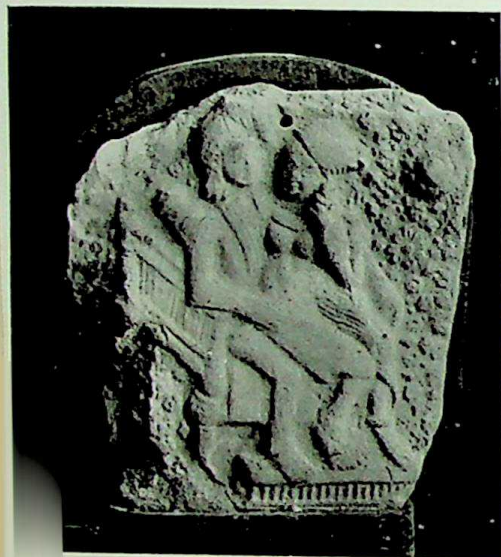
प्रयाग संग्रहालय की कुछ मृण्मूर्तियां

श्री सतीशचन्द्र काला एम. ए.,

संग्रहाध्यक्ष, प्रयाग संग्रहालय

प्रयाग संग्रहालय में कौशांबी, मथुरा, राजघाट आदि-आदि स्थानों से प्राप्त अनेक मूल्यवान् शिल्प के उदाहरण संगृहीत हैं। इनमें सबसे विशद संग्रह कौशांबी की मृण्मूर्तियों का है। इनकी विविधता तथा विचित्रता देखते ही बनती है। अनुमान होता है कि कौशांबी प्राचीन भारत की मृण्मय कला का सर्वोत्तम केन्द्र था। संग्रहालय के सभी उदाहरण टीलों के ऊपर से प्राप्त हुए हैं इसलिये वैज्ञानिक खुदाई के आधार पर उनका वर्गीकरण तथा निर्माण-काल निर्धारित करना कठिन है। नीचे कुछ चुने हुये उदाहरणों का विवरण दिया जा रहा है।

(१) कौशांबी से प्राप्त पतला टिकरा (१$\frac{३}{४}$×२" प्रयाग सं० २८२) इसमें दम्पति आसवपान में रत हैं। दोनों बेंत के बुने हुये ऊँचे मोढ़ों पर बैठे हैं। स्त्री के सिर के ऊपर एक अलंकृत ओढ़नी है तथा पैर कड़ों से भरे हैं। वह बायें हाथ में मधुघट लिए है। पुरुष अपने हाथ में पात्र लेकर उससे मधुपान कर रहा है। उसके कमर बंध पर एक कटार खोंसी हुई है। निर्माण-काल ई० पूर्व प्रथम सदी।

(२) कौशांबी से प्राप्त टिकरा (२$\frac{३}{४}$"×२" प्रयाग सं० ६७६) एक छोटे पलके पर प्रेमिका प्रेमी की बायीं जंघा पर बैठी है। प्रेमिका का एक हाथ तो प्रेमी के कन्धे पर रक्खा है तथा दूसरे से वह अपने कर्णफूल को सँभाल रही है। शुंग कालीन।

इसी भाँति का एक सुन्दर टिकरा प्रांतीय संग्रहालय लखनऊ में भी है। प्रायः सभी युगों में भारतीय कला में मिथुन या दम्पती दृश्यों को प्रधानता दी गई है।[१]

(३) मथुरा से प्राप्त मृण्मूर्ति (२$\frac{१}{२}$"×१$\frac{१}{२}$" प्रयाग सं० १२२)। यक्ष का पेट उभरा हुआ आँखे बड़ी तथा बाहर को निकली हुई हैं। उसके कन्धों पर एक मनुष्य बैठा है और यक्ष उसके दोनों पैरों को पकड़े है। उसके कानों में झूलते हुए कुंडल हैं। सम्भवतः पुरुष के दाहिने हाथ में वीणा बजाने का कोण और बाएँ में वीणा थी इसी तरह की एक मूर्ति मथुरा संग्रहालय में भी है, किन्तु वह खंडित रूप में है और उसमें केवल यक्ष ही दीख पड़ता है।[२]

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१ देखिए—"रूपम्" नं २२, २३, पृ० ५४-६१

२ देखिए—यू० पी० हिस्टॉरिकल जर्नल में प्रकाशित मथुरा टेराकोटाज़ पर डा० वासुदेव शरण जी अग्रवाल के लेख की १२वीं प्लेट का ३८वां चित्र।

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यक्षों का मनुष्यों को अपनी पीठ पर बैठाने के अनेक दृश्य सांची तथा भरहुत की कला में भी पाए जाते हैं।

(४) स्त्री की ऊर्ध्व काय मृण्मूर्ति (३″ × २½″ प्रयाग सं० ५५४) वह बायें हाथ में एक बालक को थामे हैं। दाहिना हाथ संभवत: करधनी पर स्थित था। बालक का चेहरा लम्बा है तथा सिर पर बाल पीछे को ओर सँवार कर सींगों की तरह दो जूड़ों में बँधे हैं। स्त्री के हाथ में कड़े हैं। दाहिने बाजू पर एक बिच्छू ऊपर की ओर रेंगता दीख पड़ता है। कानों में गोल चक्रकुंडल पहने है। आँखें खुली तथा उभरी हैं। संभवत: कुषाण कालीन।

भारतीय मृण्मूर्तियों में यह उदाहरण विलक्षण है। यह निश्चित रूप से कहा नहीं जा सकता कि यह मूर्ति किसी जादू-टोने के सम्प्रदाय से संबंध रखती है या मातृदेवी का कोई लुप्त रूप है। स्मरण रहे कि बिच्छू का संबंध कंकाली देवी से था। प्रयाग संग्रहालय में मध्य कालीन कंकाली देवी की मूर्ति की नाभि पर बिच्छू चलता दीख पड़ता है।

(५) मिट्टी का टिकरा (३½″ × २″ प्रयाग स० ६७८) जिसमें कि श्रृंगार या प्रसाधन का दृश्य चित्रित था। खेद है कि टिकरे का निचला तथा ऊपरी भाग खंडित हो गया है। मध्य में शरीर को थोड़ा दायीं ओर घुमाकर एक वृक्ष के नीचे एक व्यक्ति खड़ा है। कोने पर हाथ ऊपर उठाये एक कुब्जिका दासी खड़ी है जो सम्भवत: फूलमाला की चंगेरी (माल्यदाम चंगेरिका) लिए हुए थी। बायीं ओर एक वृक्ष है, जिसकी झूलती शाखा भी चित्रित की गई है। इस वृक्ष के तने पर दो पंक्तियों का ब्राह्मी लिपि में एक खंडित लेख है यह लेख इस प्रकार पढ़ा जा सकता है :—

त········ तक

········वद ? सघ ?

कौशांबी से प्राप्त मिट्टी के लेख का यह दूसरा उदाहरण है। इससे पहिले प्राप्त लेख वाला टिकरा जिस पर "सुवक" लेख अंकित है, इस समय बोस्टन म्यूज़ियम के संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है।[१]

इस टिकरे के ऊपर चमकती हुई लाल पालिश है। ई० ५० प्रथम या द्वितीय सदी।

(६) कौशांबी से प्राप्त टिकरा (४″ × ४,″ प्रयाग सं० १६) दम्पति विलास— जिसमें दम्पति एक टाण्दार पायों वाली चौकी पर लेटे हैं। चौकी पर एक सुन्दर कालीन बिछा है। स्त्री-पुरुष रमणमुद्रा में हैं। नीचे बायीं ओर एक सुग्गा है। दायीं ओर एक गोलाकार पंखा लिए कुब्जा दासी खड़ी है। खेद है कि इस टिकरे का अधिकतर भाग टूट गया है। इसके ऊपर भी लाल रंग का पोत लगा था। निर्माण-काल ई० पू० प्रथम सदी।

कौशांबी से दम्पती या मिथुन सम्बन्धी अनेक टिकरे प्राप्त हुए हैं। ज्ञात होता है कि कलाकार स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक कामसूत्र में वर्णित कुछ काम-कलाओं या आसनों को टिकरों के विषयों के लिए चुनते थे।

१ बुलेटिन आव बोस्टन म्यूज़ियम, जिल्द ५२, १६२७।

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Fig 6

Fig. 7

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Fig. 9

Fig 10.

Fig. 11

Fig 12

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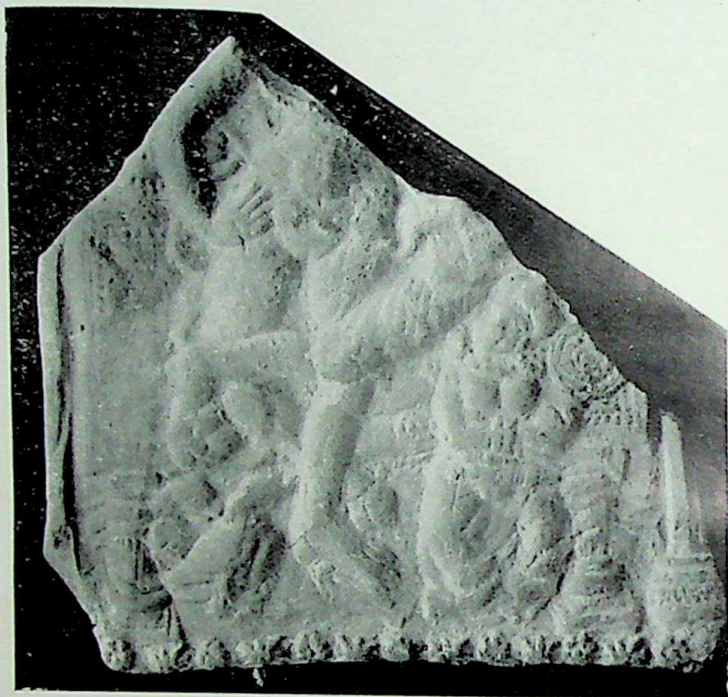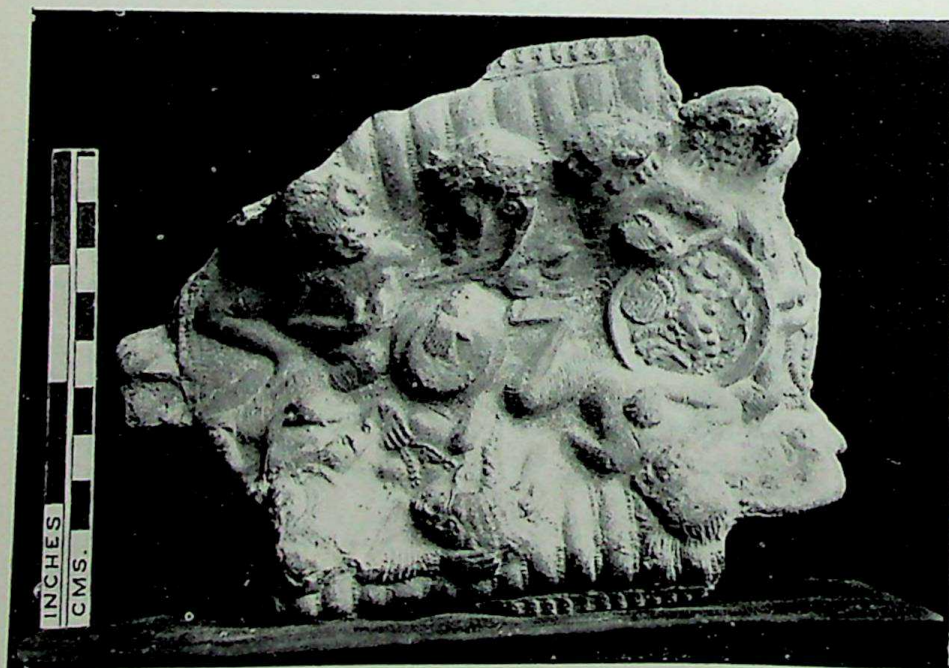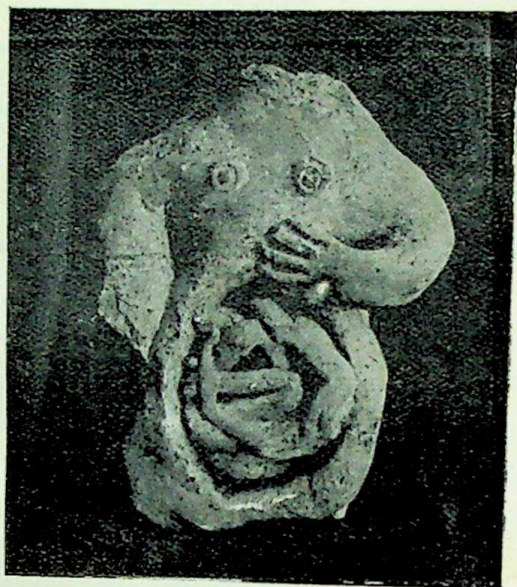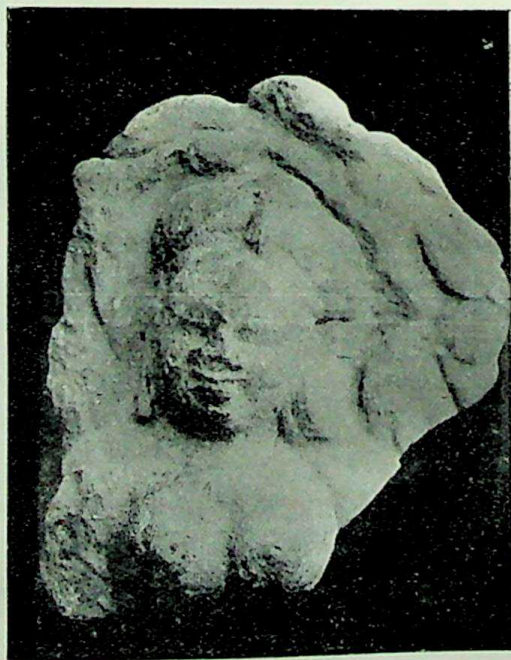
(७) कौशांबी से प्राप्त गाड़ी का ऊपरी भाग (ऊँचा ४″ प्रयाग ४५२) इस पर महत्त्वपूर्ण दृश्य अंकित है। दोनों ओर की दीवारों के सहारे कुछ लोग एक गद्दे पर बैठे हैं। एक ओर केवल एक स्त्री तथा दो पुरुष गायन वादन में मस्त हैं। दूसरी ओर प्रेमी-प्रेमिका चुम्बन में संलग्न हैं। इसके पीछे विदूषक भी है। बीच में एक बाजा तथा थाल रक्खे हैं। थाल में चपाती, मूली, फल आदि-आदि खाद्य-पदार्थ रक्खे हैं। ई० पू० प्रथम शताब्दी।

प्राचीन भारत में अवकाश पाकर नागरिक प्राय: आमोद-प्रमोद की यात्राएँ करते थे। कामसूत्र मे ऐसी यात्राओं को उद्यान-यात्रा कहते थे।

(८) कौशांबी से प्राप्त टिकरा (३,″ प्रयाग सं० ६६३) जिसमें एक सपक्षसिंह तथा मनुष्य के युद्ध का दृश्य अंकित था। टिकरे का बांया भाग जिस ओर मनुष्य था, टूट गया है ; किन्तु उसका पैर अभी भी दीख पड़ता है। सिंह के गले में गुच्छेदार झालर है तथा उसका मुँह खुला है। क्रोध में पूँछ मुड़कर उसकी कमर के ऊपर आकर लटक रही है। सम्भवत: कुषाण कालीन।

(९) १३६/६ कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त बैठे हुए नग्न यक्ष की मृण्मूर्ति (ऊँची ४″ प्रयाग सं० १३६) वह अपने उभरे पेट को एक हाथ से दबाता दीख पड़ता है। उसके बाल पीछे की ओर गुँथे हैं। दायीं ओर कुछ बाल एक चोंटी में बंधे हैं। दाढ़ी लम्बी तथा घनी है। उसके चेहरे पर आंतरिक दुख के आकस्मिक उद्गार की मुद्रा है। यक्षों को पूजने की प्रथा अति प्राचीन है। मथुरा की कला में यक्ष पत्थर पर ही नहीं वरन् मिट्टी में भी बनाए गए। निर्माण-काल प्रथम सदी ई०।

(१०) कानपुर से प्राप्त एक पुरुष का धड़ (३½″ × २″ प्रयाग सं० ७६४) यह भारत की मृण्मूर्तियों में अद्भुत उदाहरण है। इसकी बनावट अति साधारण है पुरुष का सिर, पैर तथा बायाँ हाथ टूट गया है दायाँ हाथ कुहनी से मुड़कर वक्ष पर स्थित है। पेट का सामने का भाग खोलकर उसके भीतर लिपटी हुई आँतें दिखाई गई हैं।

यह बतलाना कठिन है कि इस मृण्मूर्ति को बनाने का क्या उद्देश्य था। संभव है, शल्य-शास्त्र के अध्ययन के लिये किसी नमूने की तरह कुंभकारों ने बना दी हो। निर्माण-काल शकपार्थिव काल।

(११) कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त टिकरा (४″ × २″ प्रयाग सं० ६६५) आसवपान से उन्मत्त एक स्त्री को उसका पति थाम रहा है। स्त्री का एक घुटना भूमि पर टिका है, हाथ दो पंखों की तरह मुड़े हैं और इन्हें पीछे खड़ा उसका पति अपने दोनों हाथों से पकड़े है। पुरुष के पीछे सुन्दर घुमावों की एक लता है। यह टिकरा किसी पदार्थ की पीठिका पर जड़ा रहा होगा।

मधुपान के अनेक ढंग के दृश्य, कुषाण कालीन मथुरा की पाषाण-कला में दीख पड़ते हैं[1]। जान पड़ता है इन विषयों का आधार किन्हीं विशिष्ट परम्पराओं पर अवलम्बित था। यह टिकरा गुप्त-काल की कृति है।

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१ जर्नल इंडिया सोसायटी आफ़ ओरियंटल आर्ट, जिल्द ६, १९९–२००, गाइड टु आरकियॉ लॉजिकल सेक्सन, पटना म्यूज़ियम, चि० ४ न० ६.

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(१२) भीटा से प्राप्त गुप्तकालीन स्त्री की मूर्ति (२$\frac{3}{4}$″ × २″, प्रयाग सं० ७४२) स्तन के नीचे का भाग तथा हाथ खंडित हो गए हैं। कानों में गोल कुंडल हैं, बाल बीच में सँवार कर, एक ओर कर दिये गए हैं। सिर के ऊपर अशोक वृक्ष की शाखा है जिसको कि संभवतः स्त्री हाथ से पकड़े थी। इस शाखा पर बैठ कर एक तोता अशोक फल चुन रहा है। स्त्री के चेहरे पर सस्मित मुद्रा अंकित है। गुप्तकाल।

यह दृश्य शुकक्रीड़ा से सम्बन्ध रखता है। प्राचीन काल के नागरिक-जीवन में शुक-क्रीड़ा का उच्च स्थान था। मथुरा की कला में अनेक शुक-क्रीड़ाओं के दृश्य हैं।

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सांख्यसूत्रों का प्राचीन नाम और इतिहास

[लेखक—विद्याभास्कर, उदयवीर शास्त्री, न्यायतीर्थ,

सांख्य-योगतीर्थ वेद-वेदान्तरत्न]

भारतीय परम्परा में यह प्रसिद्ध है, कि सांख्य शास्त्र का प्रवर्त्तक अथवा रचयिता आदि विद्वान् परमर्षि कपिल था। परन्तु आधुनिक विचार धारा के अनुसार इस बात का अभी निश्चय नहीं हो सका है कि कपिल का बनाया हुआ ग्रन्थ कौन सा है, अथवा उसने किसी ग्रन्थ की रचना की भी थी या नहीं? वर्त्तमान में उपलब्ध सांख्यासूत्रों के सम्बन्ध में अनेक आधुनिक विद्वानों का यह मत है, कि ये सूत्र कपिल की रचना नहीं हो सकती। इसके लिये तीन युक्तियाँ प्रबल रूप में उपस्थित की जाती हैं।

(१) वर्त्तमन सांख्यसूत्रों में न्याय वैशेषिक का नाम, तथा जैन बौद्धदर्शनों के पारिभाषिक पदों का उल्लेख किया गया है। दार्शनिक जगत् में कपिल सर्व प्रथम दर्शनकार माना जाता है, तब उसकी रचना में न्याय वैशेषिक का नाम तथा जैन बौद्ध आदि दर्शनों के पारिभाषिक पदों का उल्लेख कैसे हो सकता है?

(२) सायण (खीस्त १४ वीं सदी का मध्य काल) से पूर्व किसी भी आचार्य ने इन सूत्रों को अपने ग्रन्थ में उद्धृत नहीं किया जब कि ईश्वरकृष्ण की सांख्य कारिकाओं के उद्धरण मिलते हैं।

(३) इन सूत्रों में कई सूत्रों की रचना छन्दोमय है, इसीलिये प्रतीत होता है, कि सायण के पश्चात् किसी विद्वान् ने, ईश्वर कृष्ण की संख्या कारिकओं के आधार पर इन सूत्रों की रचना कर डाली है, कुछ सूत्र कारिका रूप में ही रख दिये गये हैं।

परमर्षि कपिल

अनेक भारतीय* और पश्चात्य† विद्वानों का यह मत है, कि संख्य शास्त्र से सम्बद्ध कपिल नाम का कोई ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति हुआ ही नहीं, तब उसकी ग्रन्थ रचना का कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता ऐसी स्थिति में यह आवश्यक है, कि उपर्युक्त प्रसंग का विवेचन करने के लिये प्रथम कपिल की ऐतिहासिकता पर कुछ प्रकाश डाला जाय।

प्राचीन तथा मध्यकालीन भारतीय साहित्य के आधार पर यह स्पष्ट होता है, कि कपिल के पिता का नाम कर्दम प्रजापति तथा माता का नाम देवहूति था। कर्दम

* सांख्य सप्तति की जयमंगला नामक व्यख्या की भूमिका, पृष्ठ ३.

† डॉ० रिचर्ड गार्बे कृत Sāmkhya and Yoga, 283 कीथ कृत 'सांख्य सिस्टम्' पृष्ठ ६, तथा हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ संस्कृत लिट्रेचरपृष्ठ ४८८।

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का आश्रम सरस्वती नदी के तट पर ● था। कपिल अपनी आठ बहिनों के बाद, अपने माता पिता के इकलौते बेटे थे। बाल्य काल से ही इनकी मेधा और प्रतिभा का चमत्कार प्रकट होने लगा था। रामायण महाभारत और अनेक पुराणों में इनको लोकातिशायी प्रतिभा सम्पन्न होने के कारण विष्णु, तेजस्वी होने के कारण अग्नि तथा सिद्ध-ज्ञानी होने के कारण ब्रह्मा का अवतार अथवा रूप बताया गया है।* भगवान् कृष्ण ने भी अपने समय में इनको सर्वश्रेष्ट सिद्ध माना है। अहि बुर्ध्न्य संहिता में तो लोक कर्त्ता व्यक्तियां में कपिल की गणना† की गई है। उपनिषदों में भी कपिल का उल्लेख आता है। इस प्रकार के सब वर्णन, कपिल को ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति न मानकर, केवल निराधार नहीं कहे जा सकते।

किसी भी वस्तु के अस्तित्व को स्वीकार करने के लिये यही आवश्यक समझा जाता है, कि उसके लिये कोई साधक प्रमाण हो, तथा बाधक प्रमाण न हो। कपिल के अस्तित्व अथवा ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व के लिये प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का आज उपयोग नहीं किया जा सकता; क्योंकि उसके अस्तित्व का समय आज से बहुत पहिले था। परन्तु उस की कृतियों से उसका अनुमान किया जा सकता है। और शब्द प्रमाण तो उसके अस्तित्व का पूरा पोषक है। उपनिषद्, रामायण, महाभारत, पुराण और बौद्ध जैन साहित्य सब ही उसके ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व की घोषणा कर रहे हैं। अतीत के लिये शब्द ही प्रमाण माना जा सकता है। यदि उसमें कोई पारस्परिक असामञ्जस्य हो, तो उसकी विवेचना और परीक्षा कर लेनी आवश्यक ही है। परन्तु विना किसी बाधक प्रमाण के इस सब सहित्य को मिथ्या नहीं कहा जा सकता, अन्यथा प्रमाण प्रमेय व्यस्था का ही विलोप हो जायगा, और किसी भी वस्तु के अस्तित्व का नियमन नहीं किया जा सकेगा। इसलिये कपिल के साधक प्रमाण होने से, और किसी बाधक प्रमाण के न होने से, उसके ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व के सम्बन्ध में नकार नहीं किया जा सकता।

इस लघुकाय लेख में कपिल के काल, स्थान और जीवन-सम्बन्धी घटनाओं का विवेचन किया जाना कठिन है। परन्तु साहित्य के गम्भीर पर्यालोचन से इतना अवश्य प्रतीत होता है, कि ब्रह्मावर्त्त में कपिल का प्रादुर्भाव उस समय हुआ, जब कि सरस्वती नदी अपनी अविरल जलधारा में उस पवित्र भूमि पर प्रवाहित होती थी। आज से वह बहुत पुराना समय है।‡

● श्रीमद्भागवत, ३ ।२१ । ५ ।। ३। २ ४। १—६ ।।

* वाल्मीकि रामायण, बालकाण्ड ४० । २५-३०।। महाभारत वनपर्व २२३ २०-३१ ।। [कुम्भघोण संस्करण], वायु पुराण, [पूना संस्करण], ५।४५।। ८८। १४५-१४८।। पद्मपुराण, स्टष्टिखण्ड ८। १४७।। स्कन्द पुराण, रेवा खण्ड १७५। २–७।। विष्णु पुराण, २।१३। ४८-४६।। २।१४।७-६।। मत्स्य पुराण, ३ । २६।। १७१।१०।। गरूड़ पुराण, पूर्व खण्ड, १।१८।।

† अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता, ११ । ५०-५४।।

‡ इसका विस्तृत विवेचन 'सांख्य दर्शन का इतिहास' नामक ग्रन्थ में [इस लेखक द्वारा] किया गया है। [यह ग्रन्थ अभी प्रेस में है],

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कपिल की ग्रन्थ रचना

कपिल ने जिस ग्रन्थ की रचना की, यदि उसको हम स्पष्ट रूप में जानते होते, तो इसके विवेचन की आवश्यकता ही न होती। इसलिये केवल भारतीय जनश्रुति अथवा परम्परा के आधार को छोड़कर कुछ ऐसे उल्लेख उपस्थित किये जाते हैं, जिनसे प्रस्तुत विषय पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ता है।

(१) 'कल्प सूत्र'* नामक जैन ग्रन्थ में महावीर स्वामी के जीवन का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखा है 'सट्ठितन्त विसारए'। इसका संस्कृत रूप है 'षष्ठि तन्त्र विशारदः'। इस वाक्य की टीका करते हुए यशोविजय लिखता है षष्ठि तन्त्रं कापिल शास्त्रं, तत्र विशारदः पण्डितः [महावीर स्वामी]। सूत्रकार और व्यख्याकार के उक्त कथन से प्रतीत होता है, कपिल रचित शास्त्र का नाम 'षष्ठि तन्त्र' था। महावीर स्वामी ने उसका अध्ययन किया।

(२) जैन ग्रन्थ 'अनुयोग द्वार सूत्र' [४१] में भी 'काविलं सट्ठियन्तं' का उल्लेख है।

(३) पाञ्चरात्र सम्प्रदाय की प्रामाणिक पुस्तक अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता [१२।१८-१६] में भी कपिल-प्रोक्त षष्टि तन्त्र का उल्लेख किया गया है।

(४) महर्षि व्यास रचित ब्रह्मसूत्रों का भाष्य करते हुए, [२।१।१) सूत्र पर आचार्य भास्कार ने लिखा है—

'यदि ब्रह्मै वोपादान कारणञ्च, ततः कपिल महर्षि प्रणीत षष्ठि तन्त्राख्य स्मृतेरनवकाशो निर्विषयत्वम्।'

इन पंक्तियों से स्पष्ट हो जाता है, कि महर्षि कपिल ने 'षष्टितन्त्र' नामक ग्रन्थ की रचना की। 'षष्टितन्त्र' एक ग्रन्थ का नाम था, यह 'आख्या' पद के प्रयोग से सर्वथा स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

(५) आदि शङ्कराचार्य और वाचस्पति मिश्र के इस प्रसंग के निम्नलिखित उद्धरण भी इसी अर्थ को सिद्ध करते हैं। आचार्य शंकर ने [२।१।१] ब्रह्म सूत्र के भाष्य में लिखा है।

'स्मृतिश्च तन्त्राख्या परमर्षि प्रणीता'

भामती व्याख्कार वाचस्पति मिश्र इस पंक्ति की व्याख्या में लिखता है—

'तन्त्र्यते व्युत्पाद्यते मोक्षशास्त्र मनेन इति तन्त्रं तदेवाख्या यस्याः सा स्मृतिः तन्त्राख्या परमर्षिणा कपिले नादि विदुषा प्रणीता।'

शङ्कर और वाचस्पति के ये लेख स्पष्ट कर देते हैं, कि 'तन्त्र' नाम की कोई पुस्तक कपिल ने लिखी थी। यह 'तन्त्र', षष्ठि तन्त्र' के अतिरिक्त और कोई ग्रन्थ नहीं होना चाहिये। उपर्युक्त पंक्तियों में भी 'आख्या' पद, कपिल रचित ग्रन्थ के षष्टितन्त्र नामका निश्चायक है। जिन आधुनिक विद्वानों का यह विचार है, कि महर्षि कपिल

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* इस ग्रन्थ के सम्पादाक और इंग्लिश अनुवादक, रैव रेंण्ड जे. स्टेनीसन् का संस्करण।

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ने आसुरि को पुरुषार्थ ज्ञान का केवल मौखिक ही उपदेश दिया था; उनके ये विचार, भास्कर, शंकर और वचास्पति आदि विद्वानों के विचारों से विरुद्ध कहे जा सकते हैं।

(६) सांख्य सप्तति की 'युक्ति दीपिका' नामक व्याख्या के प्रारम्भिक द्वितीय श्लोक में परमर्षि को ही गुरु मानकर ग्रन्थ कारने नमस्कार किया है। दार्शनिक साहित्य में, विशेष कर सांख्य से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले साहित्य में 'परमर्षि' पद, कपिल के ही लिये प्रयुक्त होता रहा है। तृतीय श्लोक में जिज्ञासु आसुरि के लिये परमर्षि के द्वारा 'तन्त्र' के प्रवचन का निर्देश किया गया* है। अगले श्लोकों में ग्रन्थकार ने यह भी दर्शाया है, कि इस सप्तति नामक प्रकरण अथवा सकल शास्त्र का संक्षेप भी ईश्वर कृष्ण ने वहीं से किया है। इसका विवेचन हम अभी नवम युक्ति में करेंगे। आगे १४ वां श्लोक इस प्रकार है।

अल्पग्रन्थ मनल्पार्थं सर्वैस्तन्त्रगुणैर्युतम्।
पारमर्षस्य तन्त्रस्य बिम्बम दर्शगं यथा ॥

श्लोक के केवल तीसरे चरण पर हम पाठकों का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहते हैं। 'पारमर्ष' पद में 'प्रोक्त' अथवा 'कृत' अर्थ में ही तद्धित प्रत्यय का सामञ्जस्य होने से पद का परमर्षि कपिल के द्वारा प्रवचन अथवा निर्माण किया हुआ तन्त्र यह अर्थ स्पष्ट होता है। ग्रन्थकार ने सांख्य सप्तति को उसी 'तन्त्र' का प्रतिबिम्ब बाताया है। इससे स्पष्ट ही यह परिणाम निकलता है, कि सांख्य सप्तति, जिस ग्रन्थ का सक्षेप किया गया है, वह 'तन्त्र' नामक ग्रन्थ कपिल का बनाया हुआ है। यही भाव इस ग्रन्थ के प्रारम्भिक तृतीय श्लोक से भी स्पष्ट होता है।

(७) ब्रह्मसूत्र कार महर्षि व्यास की भी यह धारणा मालूम होती है, कि कपिल ने सांख्य पर किसी ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी। व्यास की इस धारणा की पुष्टि के लिये [२।१।१; तथा २।१।३] सूत्र गम्भीरता पूर्वक विचारणीय हैं।

२।१।३ सूत्र है, 'एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः'। यहां एतेन' पद से पूर्व [२।१।१] सूत्र प्रतिपादित अर्थ का अतिदेश किया गया अर्थात् प्रथम सूत्र द्वारा निर्दिष्ट सांख्य स्मृति के प्रतिषेध से योगस्मृति का भी प्रतिषेध समझ लेना चाहिये। प्रथम सूत्र इस प्रकार है—

'स्मृत्यनवकाश दोष प्रसंग इति चेन्नान्यस्मृत्यनवकाश दोष प्रसंगात्।'

इस सूत्र के दो भाग हैं, एक पूर्वपक्ष और दूसरा उत्तरपक्ष, दोनों ही स्थलों में 'स्मृति' पद का प्रयोग है। सूत्र के प्रथम भाग में पठित 'स्मृति' पद का वेदान्त के सब ही भाष्य कारों ने कपिल प्रणीत शास्त्र' ही अर्थ किया है। कई भाष्य कारों ने तो उस शास्त्र का नाम भी स्पष्ट रूप से लिख दिया है। इस सम्बन्ध में आचार्य भास्कर, शङ्कर

*ऋषये परमायार्कमरीचि समतेजसे।
संसार गहन ध्वान्त सूर्याय गुरवे नमः ॥२॥
तत्वं जिज्ञासमानाय विप्रायासुरये मुनिः।
यदुवाच महत्तन्त्रं दुःखत्रय निवृत्तये ॥३॥

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तथा वाचस्पति के लेखों का निर्देश किया जा चुका है। सूत्र में उत्तर भाग के 'स्मृति' पद से भी उन २ ग्रन्थ विशेषों का ही ग्रहण किया गया है, जिनमें वेदान्तानुकूल ईश्वर कारणता का प्रतिपादन समझा जाता है। इसलिये उसकी तुलना में पहिले 'स्मृति' पद का प्रयोग भी ग्रन्थ विशेष के लिये ही हो सकता है। इन सूत्रों की वाक्य रचना के आधार पर हम इस परिणाम तक पहुंचते हैं, कि ब्रह्म सूत्रकार व्यास के समय में व्यास तथा अन्य आचार्यों की भी यह निश्चित धारणा कही जा सकती है, कि कपिल ने अवश्य ही किसी ग्रन्थ की रचना थी। व्यास के 'स्मृति' पद के प्रयोग से उस समय में कपिल प्रणीत ग्रन्थ का होना प्रमाणित होता है।

(८) महर्षि कपिल के प्रशिष्य और आसुरि के प्रधान शिष्य आचार्य पञ्चशिख ने भी अपने एक सूत्र में 'षष्टि तन्त्र' के लिये ही 'तन्त्र' पद का प्रयोग करके इस अर्थ को स्पष्ट किया है। पञ्चशिख का सूत्र इस प्रकार है—

'आदि विद्वान् निर्माण चित्तमधिष्ठाय कारुण्याद् भगवान् परमर्षि रासुरये जिज्ञासमानाय तन्त्रं प्रोवाच।'

यदि हम पञ्चशिख के इस सूत्र के भावार्थ के साथ २ सूत्र-पदों की भी शंकर, भास्कर और वाचस्पति के उपर्युक्त वाक्यों से तुलना करें, तो हम इन सब में परस्पर एक आश्चर्य जनक समानता पाते हैं। 'आदि विद्वन्' 'परमर्षि' 'तन्त्र' 'निर्माण' 'प्रोवाच' 'प्रणीत' आदि पदों और इन वाक्यों के अर्थों की इस समानता के आधार को लेकर हम इस परिणाम पर पहुँचते हैं, कि शङ्कर आदि आचार्यों ने अपने लेख, पञ्चशिख के इस सूत्र के आधार पर ही लिखे हैं। और इसीलिये कपिल प्रणीत 'षष्टि तन्त्र' के सम्बन्ध में इन सब आचार्यों की एक ही सम्मति मान लेने में हमारे सामने कोई बाधा उपस्थित नहीं होती।

'षष्टितन्त्र' के लिये केवल 'तन्त्र' पद का प्रयोग भी अशास्त्रीय नहीं कहा जा सकता। साहित्य में इस प्रकार पूरे नाम के लिये आधे पद का प्रयोग भी अनेक स्थलों पर देखा जाता है। यह केवल लेखक की शैली या इच्छा पर ही निर्भर समझना चाहिये।

(९) ईश्वर कृष्ण रचित सांख्य सप्तति की उपसंहारात्मक अन्तिम चार कारिकाओं के आधार पर भी इस अर्थ की पुष्टि होती है, कि जिस तन्त्र का उपदेश कपिल ने आसुरि को और आसुरि ने पंचशिख को दिया, वही तन्त्र शिष्य परम्परा द्वारा ईश्वर कृष्ण को प्राप्त हुआ। उसका अच्छी तरह अध्ययन करके उसके सिद्धान्त भाग का इन आर्याओं में संक्षेप किया है। इस प्रकार 'षष्टि तन्त्र' में जिन सांख्य सिद्धान्तों का निरूपण किया गया है, वे सब इस ग्रन्थ [ईश्वर कृष्ण रचित सांख्य सप्तति] में आ गये हैं, परन्तु 'षष्टि तन्त्र' में प्रति पादित आख्यायिकाओं और परवादों को यहां छोड़ दिया गया है।

गौडपाद भाष्य के आधार पर कुछ विद्वानों [डा० विल्सन प्रभृति] का ऐसा विचार है, कि उपसंहारात्मक चार आर्याओं में से अन्तिम तीन आर्या ईश्वर कृष्ण की रचान

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नहीं हैं, प्रत्युत उनको किसी अन्य विद्वान् ने गौडपाद भाष्य के अनन्तर यहां जोड़ दिया है, क्योंकि इन अन्तिम तीन आर्याओं पर गौड़पाद का भाष्य उपलब्ध नहीं होता।

इस विषय का विस्तृत विवेचन इस लघु काय लेख में किया जाना अशक्य है, फिर भी इतना लिख देना उचित होगा, कि गौडपाद से भी प्राचीन व्याख्याकारों के व्याख्यान इन आर्याओं पर उपलब्ध होते हैं। उनमें ये तीन व्याख्यान उल्लेखनीय हैं

(१)–माठर वृत्ति

(२)–सांख्य सप्तति और उसकी एक संस्कृत व्याख्या का चीनी अनुवाद [जो अब श्री अय्यास्वामी शास्त्री ने पुनः संस्कृत रूपान्तर करके 'सुवर्णसप्तति शास्त्र' के नाम से प्रकाशित कराया है]

(३)–युक्ति दीपिका।

ऐसी स्थित में यह संभव हैं, कि इन अन्तिम आर्याओं का गौडपाद भाष्य खण्डित हो गया हो।

इसके अतिरिक्त एक और बात भी है, जिससे इन आर्याओं को प्रक्षिप्त कहना कठिन होगा। उपसंहारात्मक अन्तिम चार आर्याओं में से प्रथम आर्या पर गौडपाद का भाष्य भी उपलब्ध है, इसलिये उस आर्या को ग्रन्थकार की ही रचना माना गया है। वह आर्या इस प्रकार है–

पुरुषार्थ ज्ञानमिदं गुह्यं परमर्षिणा समाख्यातम्।
स्थित्युत्पत्ति प्रलयाश्चिन्त्यन्ते यत्र भूतानाम्॥

यदि उक्त विद्वानों के कथानुसार इस आर्या पर ही ग्रन्थ की समाप्ति समझी जाय तो इस सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ का सम्बन्ध ईश्वरकृष्ण से स्थापित नहीं किया जा सकता। प्रत्युत यह अर्थ सन्मुख आता है, कि इस गुह्य पुरुषार्थ ज्ञान [ज्ञान प्रतिपादक शास्त्र] का कथन परमर्षि कपिल ने ही किया है। ऐसी स्थिति में सांख्य सप्तति का रचयिता कपिल को ही मानना पड़ेगा, जिसका स्वीकार किया जाना सर्वथा अप्रामाणिक है। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं, कि इन उपसंहारात्मक अन्तिम आर्याओं का परस्पर इतना घनिष्ठ आर्थिक सम्बन्ध है, कि हम उनमें से किसी एक को अलग नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये 'पुरुषार्थ ज्ञानमिदं' इत्यादि आर्या को ग्रन्थ कार [ईश्वर कृष्ण] की रचना मानने पर अन्तिम तीन आर्याओं को भी ईश्वरकृष्ण की रचना मानना अनिवार्य होगा, इन आर्याओं के पारस्परिक विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है, और यह स्वीकार करना पड़ता है, कि उसी ग्रन्थ के सिद्धान्त मात्र का संक्षेप मैंने अपने ग्रन्थ में किया है। इस प्रकार उसने अपने ग्रन्थ की प्रमाणिकता को ही स्पष्ट किया है। उक्त आधारों पर यह प्रमाणित हो जाता है, कि कपिल ने जिस ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी, उसका नाम 'षष्टि तन्त्र' था।

मूल षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता पञ्चशिख अथवा वार्षगण्य नहीं

अनेक विद्वानों [कीथ, संख्य सिस्टम्, पृ० ४८] का मत है, कि षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता पञ्चशिख था। कुछ विद्वान् [पाण्डेय रामावतार शर्मा, बालराम उदासीन

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आदि] वार्षगण्य को ही षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता मानते हैं। इस विषय का विस्तृत विवेचन हमने 'सांख्य दर्शन का इतिहास' नामक ग्रन्थ में किया है। संक्षेप से यहां इतना लिख देना आवश्यक होगा, कि मूल षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता परमर्षि कपिल ही था। पञ्चशिख का एक सूत्र स्वयं इसका साक्षी हैं। इस सूत्र का अभी पीछे आठ संख्या पर उल्लेख किया जा चुका है। इसके अतिरिक्त ईश्वर कृष्ण ने भी इस बात का उल्लेख [सांख्य सप्तति, आर्या ७०-७१] किया है, कि जिस शास्त्र का उपदेश कपिल ने आसुरि को दिया था, उसी शास्त्र का उपदेश पञ्चशिख ने अपने अनेक शिष्यों को दिया, और उस शास्त्र पर व्याख्या ग्रन्थों की रचना की। इससे यही स्पष्ट होता है, कि पञ्चशिख ने 'षष्टितन्त्र, पर व्याख्याग्रन्थ लिखे। यह सर्वथा संभव है,कि पञ्चशिख के व्याख्याग्रन्थों को भी षष्टितन्त्र नाम से ही पुकारा जाता रहा हो। मूलग्रन्थ के नाम पर व्याख्याग्रन्थों का व्यवहृत होना सर्वथा संगत है। प्रतीत होता है, चीनी विद्वानों ने अनन्तर काल में इन्हीं व्याख्याग्रन्थों के आधार पर पञ्चशिख को षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता बताया हो।

इसी प्रकार वार्षगण्य भी सांख्य परम्परा में षष्टितन्त्र में व्याख्या ग्रन्थों का लेखक है। यह सांख्य अन्तर्गत कुछ ऐसे सिद्धान्तों को भी मानता है, जिनको कपिल ने स्वीकार नहीं किया था, इस प्रकार सांख्य परम्परा में इसकी अपनी एक विशेष विचार धारा है। इसी विचारधारा के अनुयायिओं में प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् रुद्रिल विन्ध्यवासी भी हो गया है, जिसका समय वार्षगण्य से कई सदियों बाद था, सांख्यसप्तति के व्याख्याग्रन्थों तथा अन्य दार्शनिक ग्रन्थों के आधार पर वार्षगण्य के अनेक ऐसे सिद्धान्तों का ज्ञान, आधुनिक विद्वानों को हो चुका है, जो सिद्धान्त कपिल विचारों के साथ समानता नहीं रखते। यह एक निश्चित मत है, कि षष्टितन्त्र के आधार पर ही ईश्वर कृष्ण ने सांख्य सप्तति की रचना की है। यदि सांख्य सप्तति के आधार भूत षष्टितन्त्र का रचयिता वार्षगण्य होता, तो सांख्यसप्तति में वार्षगण्य के सिद्धान्तों की समानता निश्चित रूप से उपलब्ध होती। परन्तु वस्तु स्थिति ऐसी नहीं है, सांख्यसप्तति में जिस सांख्य विचारधारा का विवेचन किया गया है, वार्षगण्य के अनेक मत, उसमें प्रतिपादित सांख्य सिद्धान्तों के विपरीत हैं। उदाहरणार्थ सांख्य सप्तति में 'करण' तेरह माने गये हैं। परन्तु वार्षगण्य ग्यारह ही 'करण' मानता है। सांख्य सप्तति में सूक्ष्म शरीर अर्थात् आतिवाहिक शरीर का प्रतिपादन किया गया है, परन्तु वार्षगण्य और उसके अनुयायी आतिवाहिक शरीर स्वीकार नहीं करते। और भी अनेक ऐसे मत हैं, जो सांख्य की इन विभिन्न विचार धाराओं में परस्पर समानता नहीं रखते। इन सब विवेचनों पर ध्यान रखते हुऐ यह निश्चय पूर्वक कहा जा सकता है, कि सांख्य सप्तति के आधार भूत षष्टि तन्त्र ग्रन्थ का रचयिता वार्षगण्य नहीं हो सकता। फलतः सांख्यसप्तति, सांख्य की उसी विचारधारा की प्रतिनिधि है, जिसका प्रवर्तक परमर्षि कपिल था। यही सांख्य की प्रधान धारा है, इसी में से समय २ पर अन्य विचारधारा प्रस्फुटित होती रही हैं।

षष्टितन्त्र अथवा सांख्य षडध्यायी

यह निश्चय हो जाने पर, कि परमर्षि कपिल ने 'षष्टितन्त्र' नामक ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी , यह विवेचन करना आवश्यक है कि वह ग्रन्थ इस समय भी उपलब्ध होता है

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या नहीं ? यदि उपलब्ध होता है तो वह कौन-सा ग्रन्थ है ? षष्टितन्त्र की विषयानुपूर्वी अथवा उसके कलेवर का कुछ आभास, हमें सांख्य सप्तति की अन्तिम आर्या के आधार पर हो जाता है, आर्या इस प्रकार है—

सप्तत्यां किल येऽर्थास्तेऽर्थाः कृत्स्नस्य षष्टितन्त्रस्य ।
आख्यायिका विरहिता परवाद विवर्जिता श्चेति ॥

इस वर्णन के आधार पर अनुमान होता है कि षष्टितन्त्र में प्रथम सांख्यसिद्धान्तों का निरूपण, फिर तत्सम्बन्धी आख्यायिकाओं का निर्देश और उसके अनन्तर परवादों का उल्लेख होना चाहिये । इस विषयानुक्रम पर ध्यान देने से अनुमान होता है कि वर्त्तमान सांख्यषडध्यायी का नाम ही 'षष्टितन्त्र' रहा होगा । ईश्वरकृष्ण की इस प्रतिज्ञा के अनुसार,— कि उसने सम्पूर्ण षष्टि तन्त्र के अर्थों को सप्तति में ले लिया है, और उसकी आख्यायिका और परवादों को छोड़ दिया है—जब हम वर्त्तमान सांख्य षडध्यायी के साथ इस वर्णन की तुलना करते हैं, तो इसकी आश्चर्यजनक समानता हमारे सम्मुख स्पष्ट हो जाती है।

सांख्य सूत्र और कारिकाओं की परस्पर तुलना करने पर यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है, कि प्रथम बीस कारिकाओं का प्रतिपाद्य विषय, सांख्य षडध्यायी के प्रथमाध्याय से; इक्कीस से सैंतीसवीं कारिका तक सत्रह कारिकाओं का प्रतिपाद्य विषय, सांख्य षडध्यायी के दूसरे अध्याय से; तथा अड़तीसवीं कारिका से लगाकर अड़सठवीं कारिका तक इकत्तीस कारिकाओं का प्रतिपाद्य विषय, सांख्य षडध्यायी के तीसरे अध्यायों में पूरा हो जाता है । अन्तिम आर्या निर्दिष्ट क्रम के ठीक अनुसार ही षडध्यायी के चतुर्थ अध्याय में आख्यायिकाओं का प्रासंगिक उल्लेख है, तथा अन्तिम अध्यायों में परवादों का। इन दोनों प्रसंगों को सांख्य सप्तति में छोड़ दिया गया है । ईश्वरकृष्ण का स्वलिखित वर्णन इस बात को पूर्ण रूप से सिद्ध कर देता है, कि जिस कपिल-प्रणीत षष्टि तन्त्र से उसने अपने ग्रन्थ के प्रतिपाद्य अर्थों का संग्रह किया, वह षष्टि तन्त्र, वर्त्तमान सांख्य-षडध्यायी ही हो सकता है । इस कथन से हमारा यह दावा नहीं है, कि यह सम्पूर्ण सांख्य-षडध्यायी इसी वर्त्तमान अनुपूर्वी के साथ, कपिल प्रणीत षष्टि तन्त्र है । यह संभव ही नहीं, प्रत्युत किसी अंश तक निश्चित रूप में कहा जा सकता है, कि इसमें अनेक सूत्रों की न्यूनाधिकता हो गई है । संभव है, और भी कुछ परिवर्त्तन हो गये हों फिर भी कपिल की मूल रचना इसी में निहित है, यह निश्चित मत है । इस विवेचन का दिग्दर्शन मात्र आगे इस लेख में किया जायगा ।

वर्त्तमान सांख्यसूत्रों को कपिल की रचना न माने जाने में जो तीन प्रबल युक्तियां दी जाती हैं, जिनका उल्लेख इस लेख के प्रारम्भ में किया गया है, उनका यथाक्रम विवेचन इस प्रकार किया जाता है ।

(१) सूत्रों की रचना और अनुक्रम पर जब हम गंभीरता पूर्वक ध्यान देते हैं, तब हमें इन सूत्रों में कुछ ऐसे प्रकरणों का स्पष्ट आभास हो जाता है, कि ये अवश्य ही मूल रचना के अति अनन्तर काल में मिलाये गये हैं। उनमें से एक दो प्रकरणों का संक्षेप में ही यहां उल्लेख कर देना आवश्यक होगा ।

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(क) षडध्यायी के प्रथम अध्याय के प्रारम्भ में ही इस विषय का विवेचन किया गया है, कि नित्य शुद्ध बुद्ध मुक्त आत्मा, संसार के बन्धन में कैसे आ जाता है ? प्रारम्भ में पूर्व पक्ष रूप से बन्धन के कुछ कारणों का निर्देश करके सूत्रकार ने साथ ही साथ उनमें दोष बताकर उनकारणों का निषेध कर दिया है। अन्त में १६ वें सूत्र के द्वारा आत्म-बन्ध के मुख्य कारण का निर्देश किया गया है। वह सूत्र इस प्रकार है।

न नित्य शुद्ध बुद्ध मुक्त स्वभावस्य तद्योगस्तद्योगादृते।

इसका अर्थकृत अन्वय है नित्यशुद्ध...स्वभावस्य तद्योगः तद्योगात् ऋते न। अर्थात् नित्यशुद्ध आत्मा का बन्धयोग [तद्योगः] प्रकृतियोग के बिना [तद्योगात् ऋते] नहीं होता। यहां सूत्र के प्रथम 'तद्योग' पद का अर्थ बन्धयोग, तथा दूसरे पञ्चम्यन्त 'तद्योग' पद का अर्थ प्रकृतियोग, सब ही व्याख्याकारों ने किया है। तथा यही अर्थ संभव भी है।

सूत्र के अनुसार इस बात का निश्चय होने पर, कि नित्यशुद्ध आत्मा, प्रकृति योग के कारण ही बन्धन में आता है, स्वभावतः यह आशंका होती है, कि नित्य शुद्ध आत्मा का, प्रकृति के साथ योग भी क्यों होता है ? इस आशंका का समाधान प्रथमाध्याय के ५५ वें सूत्र में किया गया है। सूत्र का स्वरूप इस प्रकार है—

तद्योगो ऽप्यविवेकात्।

नित्यशुद्ध आत्मा के साथ तद्योग अर्थात् प्रकृतियोग भी आत्मा के अविवेक के कारण होता है। १६ वें और ५५ वें सूत्र का परस्पर आर्थिक सम्बन्ध, तथा इनका रचनाक्रम [! तद्योगादृते [१६] तद्योगोऽपि [५५], इस बात को स्पष्ट करते हैं कि १६ वें सूत्र के ठीक अनन्तर ही ५५ वां सूत्र आना चहिये। अभिप्राय यह है, कि इन दोनों सूत्रों के अन्तराल में जो ३५ सूत्र आज कल उपलब्ध होते हैं, वे कपिल की रचना नहीं हैं, कपिल की मूल रचना में १६ वें सूत्र के बाद ही ५५ वां सूत्र था। इन्हीं मध्यगत ३५ सूत्रों में न्याय वैशेषिक आदि के नाम, तथा जैन बौद्ध आदि दर्शनों के परिभाषिक पदों का प्रयोग पाया जाता है। सूत्रो की इस रचना की ओर गम्भीर दृष्टि न देने से आपाततः यह समझ लिया गया है, कि इन सूत्रों में न्याय आदि पदों का प्रयोग होने से यह सम्पूर्ण शास्त्र ही कपिल की रचना नहीं है। वस्तुस्थिति यही है, कि इन सूत्रों को किसी विद्वान् ने जैन बौद्ध आदि के द्वारा दार्शनिकों के उठाये गये आक्षियों के उत्तर की भावना से यहां जोड़ दिया।

इन सूत्रों के आधार पर ही हम इस बात का भी कुछ आभास पा जाते हैं, कि किस काल में इन सूत्रों को यहां मिलाया गया इन्हीं सूत्रों के बीच २८ वें सूत्र में [वर्त्तमान संख्या क्रम के अनुसार] देश भेद को बताने के लिये 'स्रुघ्न' और 'पाटलिपुत्र' इन दो नगरों का नामोल्लेख किया गया है। यह एक साधारण बात है, कि कोई भी लेखक इस प्रकार अपने समय के प्रसिद्ध नगरों का ही उल्लेख कर सकता है। यदि आज हम देशभेद को समझाने के लिये नगरों का नाम-निर्देश करना चाहें, तो कपिशा काम्पिल्य अथवा उज्जयिनी कौशाम्बी आदि का उल्लेख कदापि न करेंगे, प्रत्युत देहली लाहौर, कलकत्ता बम्बई आदि का ही उल्लेख करेंगे, इस प्रकार उक्त सूत्र

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स्रुघ्न और पाटलिपुत्र का निर्देश इस बात को स्पष्ट करता है, कि भारत में जब ये दोनों नगर उन्नति पर होने के कारण अति प्रसिद्ध थे, उसी समय इस प्रकार इनका उल्लेख किया जा सकता था। इन दोनों नगरों को उन्नति और प्रसिद्धि का समय, ईसा से कुछ शति पूर्व से लगाकर उससे कुछ शति बाद तक रहा है। इसी अन्तराल में सूत्रों का शास्त्र के अन्तर्गत प्रक्षिप्त किया जाना संभव हो सकता है।

(ख) इसी प्रकार का एक प्रकरण पञ्चमाध्याय में है। ७४ से ८३ सूत्र तक मुक्ति के स्वरूप का निश्चय करने के लिये, पूर्व पक्ष रूप में मुक्ति के अनेक स्वरूपों की उद्भावना कर, उनका प्रतिषेध किया गया है। इसके अनन्तर सिद्धान्त पक्ष से मुक्ति के स्वरूप का निर्देश ११६ वें सूत्र में किया गया है। तदनन्तर मुक्ति सम्बन्धी ही अन्य निर्देश भी किये गये हैं। इससे प्रतीत होता है, ८३ वें सूत्र के अनन्तर ही ११६ वां सूत्र आना चाहिये। वस्तुतः इन ३२ सूत्रों के बीच में प्रक्षिप्त किये जाने से मुख्य प्रकरण में विच्छिन्नता आगई है। इस प्रक्षिप्त प्रकरण में भी अनेक कथन सांख्य सिद्धान्तों के विरुद्ध हैं, तथा इन्हीं सूत्रों में अनेक पद ऐसे हैं, जो सांख्यसूत्रों को कपिल की रचना मानने में बाधक कहे जा सकते हैं। वस्तु स्थित यह है, कि ये दोनों प्रकरण प्राचीन सांख्य सूत्रों में प्रक्षिप्त कर दिये गये। जिससे कालान्तर में सम्पूर्ण शास्त्र के ही लिये यह समझा जाने लगा, कि यह बाद की रचना है।

इस प्रकार अनेक आधुनिक विद्वानों का यह कथन—कि इन सांख्य सूत्रों में न्याय वैशेषिक का नाम तथा जैन बौद्ध आदि के पारिभाषिक पदों का प्रयोग होने से, ये सम्पूर्ण सूत्र कपिल की रचना नहीं हो सकते—असंगत हो जाता है। यह कथन सर्वथा सत्य है, कि ये दोनों प्रकरण, जिनका हमने ऊपर निर्देश किया है, कपिल की रचना कदापि नहीं। इनकी प्रक्षिप्तता का निश्चय हो जाने पर, इनके आधार पर सम्पूर्ण शास्त्र को ही कपिल की रचना न मानना, युक्ति सगत न होगा।

(२) सांख्य सूत्रों को कपिल की रचना न माने जाने में दूसरी युक्ति यह उपस्थित की जाती है, कि सायण आदि ने अथवा सायण के पूर्ववर्त्ती आचार्यों ने इन सूत्रों को कहीं उद्धत नहीं किया। इससे प्रतीत होता है, कि सायण के समय में अथवा उससे पूर्व, इन सूत्रों का अस्तित्व ही न था।

हमने सांख्य सूत्रों में से लगभग तीस बत्तीस ऐसे सूत्रों का संग्रह किया है, जो सायण से पूर्व वर्त्ती आचार्यों ने अपने ग्रन्थों में उद्धत किये हैं। उनमें से कुछ सूत्र तो ऐसे हैं, जो ईश्वरकृष्ण की सांख्यसप्तति से भी पूर्व रचित साहित्य में उद्धत किये गये हैं। उन सबका यहां निर्देश किया जाना कठिन होगा, उदाहरणार्थ दो चारका उल्लेख किया जाता है।

(क) गौतम प्रणीत न्याय सूत्रों के वात्स्यायन भाष्य [४।१।४८. ५०] में सांख्य के सत्कार्यवाद का विवेचन करते हुए, सत्कार्यवाद की पुष्टि में सांख्य की ओर से 'उपादान नियमात्' इस हेतु का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह सांख्य षडध्यायी के प्रथमाध्याय का ११५ वां सूत्र है, जो इसी बाद की पुष्टि के लिये निर्दिष्ट है।

इसी प्रकार ५।२।६ सूत्र के वात्स्यायन भाष्य में हेत्वन्तर निग्रहस्थान का वर्णन करते हुए, सांख्य मत से-महदादि व्यक्त पदार्थ त्रिगुणात्मक प्रकृति के विकार हैं, इसकी

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सिद्धि के लिये—प्रथम 'परिणामात्' और फिर 'समन्वयात्' इन हेतुओं का उल्लेख किया गया । भाष्यकार की यहां की वर्णनशैली यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है, कि व्यक्त पदार्थों को त्रिगुणात्मक प्रकृति का विकार सिद्ध करने के लिये 'परिणामात्' ही हेतु पर्याप्त नहीं है, उसमें दोषोद्भावन की कल्पना से, अनन्तर ही 'समन्वयात्' यह दूसरा उपस्थित कर दिया जाता है। इससे प्रतीत होता है, भाष्यकार ने उक्त कथन की पुष्टि में इसी क्रम में इन हेतुओं के उल्लेख को कहीं दृष्टि गोचर किया है। ये दोनों हेतु स्वतन्त्र सूत्र रूप में इसी क्रम से इसी वाद की पुष्टि के लिये सांख्य षडध्यायी के प्रथमाध्याय [सूत्र १३०, १३१] में विद्यमान हैं। इससे निश्चित होता है, कि सांख्य के ये सूत्र, न्याय सूत्रों के भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन मुनि के समय में वर्त्तमान थे । आधुनिक ऐतिहासिक विद्वानों ने वात्स्यायन का समय, ईश्वरकृष्ण से पूर्व माना है।

(ख) याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति की अपरादित्य विरचित अपरार्क नामक टीका में प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय के १०६ वें श्लोक की व्याख्या करते हुए, व्याख्याकार ने देवल के नाम से एक लम्बा सन्दर्भ उद्धत किया है। सांख्याचार्यों में सांख्यसप्तति के प्राचीनतम व्याख्याकार माठर ने देवल का उल्लेख किया है। सांख्यसिद्धान्तों को स्वीकार करनेवाले देवल का उल्लेख, शंकराचार्य ने भी वेदान्त सूत्र [१।४ का अन्तिम सूत्र] के भाष्य में किया है। देवल के इस सन्दर्भ में सांख्यसिद्धान्तों का जो वर्णन किया गया है, वह षडध्यायी, तत्व समास तथा अन्य प्राचीन सांख्य ग्रन्थों के आधार पर ही प्रतीत होता है। उसमें सांख्य षडध्यायी के अनेक सूत्र हैं। उनमें सांख्यषडध्यायी के प्रथमाध्याय का ६१ वां सूत्र महत्वपूर्ण है। सूत्र है

सत्त्व रजस्तमसां साम्यवस्था प्रकृतिः, प्रकृतेर्महान् महतोऽहङ्कारो, ऽहङ्कारात् पञ्च तन्मात्राणि, उभयमिन्द्रियं, स्थूलभूतानि पुरुष इति पञ्चविंशतिर्गणः ।

यद्यपि देवल का सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ अभी तक उपलब्ध नहीं है, और उसके काल के सम्बन्ध में कोई निश्चित निर्णय नहीं किये जासके हैं, फिर भी जिन अन्य अनेक आधारों पर उसके काल का अनुमान किया गया है, उनसे यही परिणाम निकलता है, कि देवल ईश्वर कृष्ण की अपेक्षा अति प्राचीन काल में हुआ था।

(ग)- शङ्कराचार्य ने 'न वायुक्रिये पृथगुपदेशात्' इस वेदान्त सूत्र के भाष्य में लिखा है —"तन्त्रान्तरीया आचक्षते – 'सामान्या करणवृत्तिः प्राणाद्या वायवः पञ्च' इति"। यहां तन्त्रान्तर से सांख्य का ही निर्देश किया गया है, इसमें किसी को सन्देह नहीं। तन्त्रान्तर से जिस सूत्र को यहां उद्धृत किया गया है, वह सांख्य षडध्यायी के द्वितीयाध्याय का ३१ वां सूत्र है। यद्यपि सांख्यसप्तति की २६ वीं आर्या के उत्तरार्ध का पाठ उक्त उद्धरण से मिलता जुलता है, परन्तु शङ्कराचार्य का उद्धत पाठ आर्या छन्द में नहीं है। इसलिये उसे आर्या का अर्थ नहीं कहा जा सकता। आज तक जितने भी वेदान्तसूत्र शाङ्करभाष्य के प्रामाणिक संस्करण प्रकाशित हुए हैं, उन सब में इस उद्धरण का यही पाठ है।

यद्यपि वर्त्तमान सांख्यसूत्रों के पाठ में भी उक्त सूत्र का पाठ आर्या के अनुसार ही उपलब्ध होता है, परन्तु शङ्कराचार्य के पाठ से इसका निश्चय हो जाता है, कि

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सूत्र का प्राचीन पाठ वही था, जो शङ्कर ने उद्धृत किया है। वर्त्तमान सूत्रों में आर्यापाठ के संस्कार वश कालान्तर में इस सूत्र का पाठ आर्या के अनुसार कर दिया गया; अथवा लेखक प्रमाद से ऐसा होगया, और आगे वही पाठ चल पड़ा। परन्तु शाङ्कर भाष्य में सूत्र का वही प्राचीन पाठ बना रहा। इस प्रकार प्राचीन पाठों के भ्रष्ट किये जाने का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण हम देखते हैं, कि आज कल के वेदान्त सूत्र शाङ्करभाष्य के भाषा संस्करणों में [देखिये-अच्युत ग्रन्थमाला, बनारस का भाषा संस्करण] शाङ्कर भाष्य में उद्धृत सूत्र पाठ को भी आर्या के अनुसार छापकर भ्रष्ट कर दिया गया है। इस प्रकार सांख्यसूत्रों के इन उद्धरणों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है, कि जिन विद्वानों का ऐसा मत है, कि सायण अथवा उसके पूर्ववर्त्ती आचार्यों ने इन सूत्रों को अपने ग्रन्थों में उद्धत नहीं किया, उनको अपने मत पर पुनः विचार करना चाहिये।

(३) --इन सूत्रों के कपिल रचित होने अथवा प्राचीन माने जाने में तीसरा आक्षेप यह उपस्थित किया जाता है, कि इन सूत्रों में कई सूत्रों की रचना छन्दोमय है। इससे यही प्रतीत होता है, कि सायण के पश्चात् किसी विद्वान् ने ईश्वरकृष्ण की सांख्य सप्तति के आधार पर इन सूत्रों की रचना कर डाली हो।

यह हम प्रथम लिख चुके हैं, कि सांख्य सप्तति की अड़सठ कारिकाओं का प्रतिपाद्य विषय सांख्यषडध्यायी के प्रथम तीन अध्यायों में आजाता है। इन तीन अध्यायों में केवल तीन सूत्र ऐसे कहे जाते हैं, जिनकी रचना छन्दोमय है। वे इस प्रकार हैं —

(क) –हेतुमदनित्यमव्यापि सक्रियमनेक माश्रितं लिङ्गम्।
[सांख्यसूत्र १ १२४ ॥ कारिका १० पूर्वार्ध]

(ख) – सात्विक मेकाद शकं प्रवर्त्तते वैकृतादहङ्कारात्।
[सांख्यसूत्र २, १८ ॥ कारिका २५ पूर्वार्ध]

(ग) सामान्यकरणवृत्तिः प्राणाद्या वायवः पञ्च।
[सांख्यसूत्र २, ३१ ॥ कारिका २९ उत्तरार्ध]

(क) – इनमें से पहिले सूत्र के सम्बन्ध में वक्तव्य है, कि इस सूत्र के ऐसे प्राचीन पाठ उपलब्ध हैं, जिनके अनुसार यह सूत्र, श्लोक नहीं कहा जासकता। सांख्य सूत्रों की वर्तमान व्याख्याओं में सब से प्राचीनव्याख्या अनिरुद्ध वृत्ति में इस सूत्र का पाठ निम्नलिखित है –

हेतुमदनित्यं सक्रियमनेक माश्रितं लिङ्गम्।

अनिरुद्ध, इस सूत्र में 'अव्यापि' पद नहीं पढ़ता, और न उसने इस पद की व्याख्या की है। एक हस्तलिखित प्रति में 'सक्रियम्' के स्थान पर 'सक्रियकम्' पाठ* भी है, जो इस सूत्र के छन्दोमय होने में बाधक कहा जासकता है। संभवतः अनिरुद्ध के समय तक

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*अनिरुद्धवृत्ति, सूत्र १ १२४. पृ० ६७ की टिप्पणी, प्रकाशित J. W. Thomas Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1888 .सम्पादित—Dr. Richard Garbe.

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इस सूत्र में 'अव्यापि' पद का समावेश नहीं था। यद्यपि कारिकाकार ने छन्द रचना तथा अर्थकृत सम्बन्ध के आधार पर भी सूत्र में अव्यापि' पद बढ़ाकर अनिरुद्ध से बहुत पहिले ही उसे वर्त्तमान कारिका का रूप दे दिया था। अनिरुद्ध के अनन्तर काल में अर्थकृत सम्बन्ध की विशेषता को समझकर किसी लेखक अथवा व्याख्याकार ने या किसी अध्येता ने सूत्र में भी कारिका के संस्कार वश इस पद का समावेश कर दिया। विज्ञानभिक्षु के समय सूत्र में 'अव्यापि' पद समाविष्ट किया जा चुका था।

(ख)–सांख्यसप्तति में इस आर्या के प्रथम पदों का' सात्विक एकादशकः' इस प्रकार पुल्लिङ्ग पाठ है यद्यपि दोनों पाठ छन्दरचना की दृष्टि से एक समान ही अनुकूल है, परन्तु यहां यह लिङ्ग भेद भी कुछ विशेषता रखता है।

सूत्र का पाठ छन्दोमय है; यह सत्य है फिर भी यह नहीं कहा जा सकता, कि कारिका के आधार पर इसकी रचना की गई है, या इसमे कारिका का अनुकरण किया गया है। सूत्र में नपुंसक लिंग पाठ है और कारिका में पुल्लिग। सूत्रकार ने सामान्य रूप से कार्य 'इन्द्रिय' या 'करण' को उद्देश्य मान कर नपुंसक लिङ्ग का प्रयोग किया है, परन्तु चौबीसवीं आर्या में, छन्दरचना से बाध्य हो कर कारिकाकार ने 'इन्द्रिय' अदि पदो का समावेश न हो सकने के कारण उनके स्थान पर, सर्ग' और गण' पदो का प्रयोग किया है, जो दोनों पुल्लिंग पद है। इन्हीं पदो का अगली कारिका में अनुवर्त्तन होने से इन पदों के सम्बन्ध से बाधित होकर कारिकाकार ने २५वीं आर्या में पुल्लिंग पदों का प्रयोग किया है।

अब यदि यह माना जाय, कि सूत्रकार ने इस सूत्रकी रचना कारिका के आधार पर की है, तो उसी रूप में भी कारिका को लिखकर सूत्र की रचना में कोई अन्तर नहीं आ सकता था। सूत्रकार तो छन्द रचना से बाधित नहीं था ऐसी स्थिति में पदों का केवल लिंग-भेद कर देना अनावश्यक और निरर्थक था। परन्तु कारिकाकार के लिये यह बात नहीं कही जा सकती; क्योंकि उसे छन्द रचना में 'इन्द्रिय' अदि पदों के प्रयोग की अनुकूलता न देख कर 'सर्ग'और गण' पदों का प्रयोग करना पड़ा,तथा उसी के अनुसार अगली कारिका में पुल्लिंग पद का प्रयोग आवश्यक और सप्रयोजन था। यह कथन भी कुछ बल नहीं रखता, कि सूत्रकार ने कारिका से कुछ भेद करने के लिये ही सूत्र में लिंगभेद कर दिया है, क्योंकि अन्य कारिकाओं का रूपान्तर कर देने के समान सूत्रकार इसमें भी सर्वथा परि-वर्त्तन कर सकता था और फिर ऐसा परिवर्त्तन सर्वथा निष्प्रयोजन है, जो छन्द प्रतीति में भी बाधक नहीं। इसलिये सूत्रकी रचना कारिका के आधार पर नहीं कही जासकती। प्रत्युत सूत्र के आधार पर ही कारिका की रचना मानना अधिक युक्ति युक्त होगा।

(ग)–तृतीय सूत्र का पाठ, आदिशङ्कराचार्य के निर्दिष्ट पाठ के अनुसार, सामान्या करणवृत्तिः प्राणाद्या वायवः होना चाहिये। यह पाठ आर्यारूप कदापि सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। यही सूत्र का वास्तविक पाठ है। कारिका पाठ के अभ्यास के कारण, बाद में लेखक आदि के प्रमाद से सूत्र पाठ को कारिकानुसारी बना दिया गया। उन्होंने इस पाठ के महत्व को नहीं समझा। इस प्रकार इस सूत्र की रचना भी छन्दोवद्ध नहीं कही जा सकती। वस्तुतः ईश्वर कृष्ण ने ही सूत्र के पृथक पदों को समस्त करके उसे कारिका का रूप दिया। शंकराचार्य के समय तक सूत्र का पाठ यथावस्थित था जो आज भी उसी तरह

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बना हुआ है। इन्हीं दिनों कुछ नये हिन्दी भाषा के संस्करणों में [देखिये अच्युत ग्रन्थमाला, बनारस का भाषा सँस्करण, जिसका अभी पहिले भी हमने निर्देश किया है] इस पाठ को भी भ्रष्ट किया गया है।

इस विवेचन के अनुसार एक ही सूत्र ऐसा रह जाता है, जिसकी रचना छन्दोमय कही जासकती है। केवल इतने आधार पर यह नहीं कहा जा सकता, कि सूत्रों की रचना सांख्य सप्तति के अनुसार की गई है। इसका पहले उल्लेख किया जा चुका है, कि सांख्यसप्तति का सम्पूर्ण प्रति पाद्य विषय, षडध्यायी के तीन अध्यायों में समाप्त हो जाता है। उपर्युक्त छन्दोमय कहे जाने वाले सूत्र इन्हीं अध्यायों में हैं। इन सूत्रों के कारण यदि हम इस बात को स्वीकार कर लेते हैं, कि सांख्य सूत्रों की रचना कारिकाओं के आधार पर हुई है, तो सांख्यषडध्यायी के शेष अध्यायों में कोई भी रचना छन्दोमय नहीं होनी चाहिये। क्योंकि सांख्य सप्तति, विषय निर्देश के अनुसार षडध्यायी के प्रारम्भिक तीन ही अध्यायों का आधार हो सकती हैं, शेष का नहीं। इसका परिणाम यह होना चाहिये, कि यदि शेष [अन्तिम तीन] अध्यायों में भो कोई छन्दोमय रचन हो, तो उनका भी आधार कोई पद्य-मय ग्रन्थ माना जाय, अन्यथा प्रथम तीन अध्यायों की रचना को भी स्वतन्त्र माना जाय। हम अन्तिम तीन अध्यायों में से कुछ ऐसे सूत्रों का उल्लेख करते है, जिनकी रचना छन्दोमय है।

(क)—तद्विस्मरणेऽपि भेकीवत् [४, १६] यह आर्या छन्द का चतुर्थ चरण है।

(ख)—सक्रियत्वाद्गतिश्रुतेः [५ ७०] यह अनुष्टुप का एक चरण है।

(ग)—ध्यानँ निर्विषयं मनः [६,२५] यह अनुष्टुप का एक चरण है।

(घ)—पुरुष बहुत्वं व्यवस्थात [६,४५] यह आर्या का चतुथ चरण है।

इस प्रकार सूत्र रचना में दो चार वाक्यों की छन्दोमय रचना होजाना कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। यह लेखक की अपनी शैली या इच्छा पर निर्भर होता है। किसी गद्य या सूत्र ग्रन्थ में इस प्रकार कुछ वाक्यों की छन्दोमय रचना, इस मत का आधार नहीं बनाई जासकती, कि वह ग्रन्थ किसी अन्य छन्दोमय ग्रन्थ के आधार पर लिखा गया है। पाणिनीय अष्टाध्यायी में भी ऐसे कई सूत्र उपलब्ध होते हैं।

(अ)—पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति। [४।४।३५-३६] यह अनुष्टुप छन्द का अर्द्धभाग है।

(इ)—अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्त्वयोनिवासे जयः करणम्। [६।१।२००-२०२] यह आर्या छन्द का द्वितीय अर्द्धभाग बन जाता है।

(उ)—पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्। [६।३।१०६] यह इन्द्र वज्रा वृत्तका एक चरण है।

'षष्टि तन्त्र' और 'सांख्य' नाम का आधार

इन सब विवेचनों पर ध्यान पूर्वक दृष्टि देने से हम इस परिणाम पर पहुंच जाते हैं, कि कपिल एक ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति था, वह सांख्यशास्त्र का प्रवर्त्तक था, इस विषय पर उसने जिस ग्रन्थ की रचना की, उसका नाम 'षष्टितन्त्र' था, जो कुछ रूपान्तर होकर आजकल सांख्य षडध्यायी के रूप में उपलब्ध होता है। इस दर्शन के 'षष्टितन्त्र'

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और 'सांख्य' दोनो ही नाम प्राचीन साहित्य में उपलब्ध होते हैं। इस प्रकार के नाम करण का रहस्य, सांख्य के विशेष सिद्धान्तों में अन्तर्निहित है। प्रत्येक प्राणी का परम लक्ष्य दुःख से अत्यन्त निवृत्ति का होना ही बताया गया है। यह स्थिति, पुरुष [चेतन] और प्रकृति [अचेतन = जड़] के वास्तविक भेद का साक्षात्कार होने पर ही संभव हो सकती है, सांख्य परम्परा में इसको 'सत्वपुरुषान्यताख्याति' अथवा 'प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेक-ख्याति' कहा जाता है। इनका अर्थ है-प्रकृति और पुरुष के भेद का साक्षात् ज्ञान। इस ज्ञानर्थक 'ख्याति' पद में 'ख्या' धातु का प्रयोग हुआ है। इसी धातु के साथ 'सम्' उपसर्ग लगाकर दुःखकी अत्यन्त निवृत्ति के साधनभूत-जड़ चेतन के भेद ज्ञान—का निरूपण करने वाले शास्त्र का नाम 'सांख्य' रक्खा गया। इस शास्त्र में संख्या = तत्त्व-ज्ञान को ही मोक्ष का साधन मानकर मूलभूत सिद्धान्त के रूप में स्वीकार किया है, और इसी आधार पर तत्त्वों का विवेचन किया गया है। इसीलिये इसका नाम सांख्य हुआ *।

कई विद्वानों ने 'संख्या' शब्द को गिनती के अर्थ में मानकर, और इस शास्त्र में परिगणित तत्त्वों का विवेचन होने से, इसी शब्द के द्वारा 'सांख्य' पद का निर्वचन किया है। उनका विचार है, कि सांख्य में चौबीस जड़[प्रकृति तथा प्रकृति के विकार] और चेतन-पुरुष का वर्णन होने से ही, इस नियम 'संख्या' [गणना] के आधार पर ही इस दर्शन का नाम 'सांख्य, रक्खा गया है।

परन्तु यह विचार युक्ति युक्त प्रतीत नहीं होता क्योंकि अन्य दर्शनों में भी पदार्थों की नियत गणना करके ही उनका विवेचन किया गया है। न्याय में सोलह और वैशेषिक में छः पदार्थ गिनाकर ही उनका विवेचन किया है। इसलिये गणनावाची 'संख्या' पद से सांख्य का निर्वचन करना ऐसा ही है जैसा कि किसी ने 'महाभारत' पद का 'महत्वाद्भारतत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते' निर्वचन किया है, वस्तुतः'भारत' पदका 'भार' अर्थात् बोझ से कोई भी सम्बन्ध नहीं है। वहां केवल भरत नामक राजा के वंशजों का वर्णन होने से ही उसका 'भारत' नाम है। इसी प्रकार 'सांख्य' पद का मूल, ज्ञानार्थक 'संख्या' पद है, गणना वाचक नहीं। सांख्य में पदर्थों की गणना, की भी नहीं गई है। इसका स्पष्टी करण हमने 'सांख्य सिद्धान्त' नामक ग्रन्थ में किया है।

इस ग्रन्थ का दूसरा नाम 'षष्टितन्त्र' है। यह नाम करण भी सिद्धान्त विवेचन के —एक विशेष प्रकार के–आधार पर ही किया गया है। इस शास्त्र में पदार्थों के विवेचन के लिये दो मार्ग, सन्मुख रक्खे गये हैं। एक आधिभौतिक दृष्टि प्रधान है, और दूसरा आध्यात्मिक दृष्टिप्रधान। आधिभौतिक दृष्टिसे पच्चीस तत्त्वोंका विवेचन है, तथा आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से साठ पदार्थों का। साठ पदार्थों में दश मौलिक या मूलिक अर्थ है; जिनमें आधि-भौतिक दृष्टि से विवेचित पच्चीस तत्त्व समाविष्ट हैं और पचास* बुद्धिसर्ग या प्रत्ययसर्ग है। अध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से विवेचन करने में इन्हीं साठ तत्त्वों की प्रधानता के कारण इस शास्त्र का षष्टितन्त्र'नाम रक्खा गया।

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* अब्रवीत् परमं मोक्षं यतः सांख्य विधीयते। [महाभारत, १२ । २२० । २२]
विज्ञान भिक्षुने 'सांख्यप्रवचन भाष्य' के प्रारम्भ में 'भारत' के नाम से इसी आशय का एक श्लोक इस प्रकार उद्धृत किया है– ‡

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कुछ आधुनिक विद्वानों का विचार है, कि साठ अध्याय अथवा साठ खण्डों में विभक्त होने के कारण ही, इस दर्शन के मूल ग्रन्थ का नाम षष्टि तन्त्र' था। कुछ विद्वान्, साठ सहस्र श्लोकों में लिखा जाना, इसके 'षष्टि तन्त्र' नाम का मूल बताते हैं। वस्तुतः कापिल दर्शन के पञ्चशिख आदि आचार्यों द्वारा लिखे गये व्याख्या ग्रन्थों के कल्पित कलेवर के आधार पर उक्त निर्वाचन की उद्भावना की जाती है। इस नामकरण का मौलिक आधार वही है, जिसका ऊपर निर्देश कर दिया गया है।

इस शास्त्र के इन दोनो ही नामो में पदार्थों की गणना करने की कोई भावना अन्तर्निहित नहीं है। वस्तुस्थिति से देखा जाय तो सांख्य में दो ही तत्त्वों का विवेचन है–एक चेतन और दूसरा अचेतन। चेतन पुरुष और अचेतन, प्रकृति है। मूलतः तत्त्व दो ही हैं। तथा ये दो व्यक्ति रूप से नहीं हैं। अर्थात् ऐसा नहीं है कि एक व्यक्ति रूप प्रकृति है, तथा दूसरा व्यक्तिरूप पुरुष है, और इस प्रकार ये दो तत्त्व हैं। प्रत्युत चेतन और अचेतन रूप में ही इनको दो कहा जाता है। वैसे तो चेतन पुरुष= परमात्मा [व्यक्ति रूप में एक], तथा आत्मा [अनन्त] हैं। इसी प्रकार प्रकृति भी, अनन्त अचेतन ब्रह्माण्ड के कारण रूपों में, अनन्त है। इसका स्पष्टीकरण 'सांख्य सिद्धान्त' नामक ग्रन्थ में किया गया है। यहां केवल इतना ही कहना है कि इस शास्त्र के प्रसिद्ध नामों का आधार, तत्त्वों का विवेचन ही है, गणना की भावना नहीं।

इस लघु काय लेख में हमने यहस्पष्ट करने का यत्न किया है, कि कपिल एक ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति था, ठीक वैसा ही, जैसे आजकल के महान व्यक्ति हैं। वह सांख्य प्रवर्त्तक 'तथा षष्टितन्त्र' नामक ग्रन्थ का रचयिता था जो आज सांख्य षडध्यायी के रूप में उपलब्ध होता है इस सम्बन्ध की साधक युक्तियों का इस लेख में जो कुछ निर्देश किया गया है आशा है, विद्वान् उसपर और अधिक विवेचन करेंगे, जिससे यथार्थता प्रकाश में लाई जासके।

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‡ संख्या प्रकुर्वते चैव प्रकृतिं च प्रचक्षते ! तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशन्तेत सांख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ [इसकी तुलना करें– महाभारत, शान्ति०,अ०३११,४२–४३]

प्रकृति के साथ चौबीस तत्त्वों का विवेचन होने से यह शास्त्र 'संख्या' अर्थात् तत्त्व ज्ञान को कराता है। इसी लिये इसशास्त्र का नाम 'सांख्य,' तथा उन अर्थों का प्रवचनकरने वाले आचार्यों को भी इसी नाम से कहा गया है। किसी भी वस्तु के दोष व गुणों का विवेचन पूर्वक ज्ञान प्राप्त करना 'संख्या' कहाता है।

दोषाणाञ्च गुणानाञ्च प्रमाणं प्रविभागतः।
कञ्चिदर्थ मभिप्रेत्य सा संख्येयुपधार्यताम् ॥

प्रस्तुत शास्त्र का मूल आधार यही है।

५ विपर्यय। २८ अशक्ति। ९ तुष्टि। ८ सिद्धि।

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महाभाष्यटीकाकार आचार्य भर्तृहरि *

(लेखक—युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक, "प्राच्यविद्याप्रतिष्ठान" मोतीझील, काशी)

महाभाष्य की जितनी टीकाएँ उपलब्ध तथा ज्ञात हैं, उनमें सब से प्राचीन और प्रामाणिक भर्तृहरि की टीका है। वैयाकरण-निकाय में महाभाष्यकार भगवान् पतञ्जलि के अनन्तर भर्तृहरि ही सबसे अधिक प्रामाणिक व्यक्ति माना जाता है।

भर्तृहरि का परिचय

भर्तृहरि ने किसी ग्रन्थ में अपना परिचय नहीं दिया। इसलिये भर्तृहरि का इतिवृत्त सर्वथा अन्धकारावृत है, परन्तु काशकुशावलम्ब न्याय से जो कुछ ज्ञात हो सका है, वह निम्न प्रकार है—

भर्तृहरि के माता पिता का नाम अज्ञात है।

भर्तृहरि का गुरु—भर्तृहरि ने अपने गुरु के नाम का साक्षात् निर्देश नहीं किया। वाक्यपदीय के टीकाकार पुण्यराज ने भर्तृहरि के गुरु का नाम वसुरात लिखा है। उसका लेख इस प्रकार है—

१. **न तेनास्मद्गुरुस्तत्रभवतो वसुरातादन्यः।**

वाक्यपदीय काशी सं० पृ० २८४।

२. **"प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः"** श्लोक की अवतरणिका में लिखता है—**तत्र भगवता वसुरातगुरुणा ममायमागमः संज्ञाय वात्सल्यात् प्रणीतः।**

वही—पृष्ठ २८६।

३. **आचार्यवसुरातेन न्यायमार्गान् विचिन्त्य सः।**
प्रणीतो विधिवच्चायं मम व्याकरणागमः॥

वही—पृष्ठ २९०।

क्या भर्तृहरि बौद्ध था ?

चीनी यात्री इत्सिंग ने अपने भारतयात्रा ग्रन्थ में लिखा है कि वाक्यपदीय और महाभाष्यटीका का रचयिता आचार्य भर्तृहरि बौद्ध मतानुयायी था। उसने सात बार प्रव्रज्या ग्रहण की थी।[1]

इत्सिंग की भूल—वाक्यपदीय और महाभाष्यटीका के उपलब्धांश के पर्यनुशीलन से विदित होता है कि भर्तृहरि वैदिकमतानुयायी था। वह वाक्यपदीय के ब्रह्मकाण्ड में लिखता है—

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* लेखक द्वारा लिखे गये "संस्कृत व्याकरण-शास्त्र का इतिहास" नामक अप्रकाशित बृहद् ग्रन्थ का एक देश।

१. इत्सिंग की भारतयात्रा पृष्ठ २७४

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१. न चागमादृते धर्मस्तर्केण व्यवतिष्ठते ।

अर्थात्—आगम के बिना केवल तर्क से धर्म का निर्णय नहीं होता ।

वेद के विषय में ऐसे उद्‌गार वेदविरोधी बौद्ध विद्वान् कभी व्यक्त नहीं कर सकता । जैन विद्वान् वर्धमान सूरि भर्तृहरिकृत महाभाष्यटीका का एक उद्धरण देकर लिखता है—

२. यस्त्वयं वेदविदामलंकारभूतो वेदाङ्गत्वात् प्रमाणितशब्दशास्त्रः सर्वज्ञंमन्य उपमीयते तेन कथमेतत् प्रयुक्तम् ।

गणरत्नमहोदधि, पृष्ठ १२३ ।

इस उद्धरण में वर्धमान सूरि भर्तृहरि के लिये **'वेदविदामलंकारभूतः'** विशेषण का प्रयोग करता है । इससे स्पष्ट है कि वह भर्तृहरि को बौद्ध नहीं समझता ।

३. उत्पल ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी में **"तत्र भवद्भर्तृहरिणापि"—न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके**·····इत्यादि वाक्यपदीय ब्रह्मकाण्ड की तीन कारिकाएँ उद्धृत करके लिखता है—

बौद्धैरपि अध्यवसायापेक्षं प्रकाशस्य प्रामाण्यं वदद्भिरुपगत एवायमर्थः ।

यहाँ उत्पल बौद्धों के मत का पृथक् प्रतिपादन करता है ।

इन प्रमाणों से स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि बौद्ध नहीं था । इत्सिंग को यह भ्रान्ति क्यों हुई, इसका निरूपण हम आगे करेंगे ।

भर्तृहरि का काल

भर्तृहरि का काल अभी विवादास्पद है । ऐतिहासिक इत्सिंग के वचन को प्रमाणमान-कर भर्तृहरि का काल विक्रम की सप्तम शताब्दी का उत्तरार्ध मानते हैं । अब अनेक विद्वान् इत्सिंग के लेख में सन्देह करने लगे हैं । भारतीय जनश्रुति के अनुसार भर्तृहरि महाराज विक्रमादित्य का सहोदर भ्राता है । इस जनश्रुति में कोई साधक बाधक प्रमाण नहीं है । अतः हम ग्रन्थान्तरों में उपलब्ध उद्धरणों के आधार पर भर्तृहरि के काल निर्णय का प्रयत्न करते हैं—

१. प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध चीनी यात्री इत्सिंग लिखता है—'उस (भर्तृहरि) की मृत्यु हुए चालीस वर्ष हुए ।'[1] ऐतिहासिकों के मतानुसार इत्सिंग ने अपना भारतयात्रावृत्तान्त विक्रम सं० ७४६ के लगभग लिखा था । तदनुसार भर्तृहरि की मृत्यु सं० ७०८, ७०६ के लगभग हुई होगी ।

२. काशिका ४।३।८८ के उदाहरणों में, **वाक्यपदीय'** ग्रन्थ का उल्लेख है । काशिका की रचना सं० ६८०—७०१ के मध्य में हुई थी ।[2] इससे स्पष्ट है कि वाक्यपदीय की रचना काशिका से पूर्व हुई थी ।

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१. इत्सिंग की भारतयात्रा, पृष्ठ २७५ ।

२. देखो हमारा 'भागवृत्तिसंकलनम्,' पृष्ठ ६ ।

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३. कातन्त्र व्याकरण की दुर्गसिंह कृत टीका काशिका से प्राचीन है। धातुवृत्ति-कार सायण के मतानुसार काशिका ७।४।९३ में वामन ने कातन्त्र का दुर्गवृत्ति का प्रत्याख्यान किया है [1] दुर्गसिंह कातन्त्र ३।१।९ की वृत्ति में लिखता है

तथा चोक्तम्—यावत्सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेन प्रतीयते।
आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात् सा क्रियेत्यभिधीयते॥

यह वाक्यपदीय तृतीय काण्ड के क्रियासमुद्देश की प्रथम कारिका है। इसके द्वितीय और चतुर्थ चरण के अन्तिम पदों में व्यत्यास है। दुर्गसिंह कातान्त्रवृत्ति ३।२।४१ में पुनः एक कारिका उद्धृत करता है—

क्रियमाणं तु यत्कर्म स्वयमेव प्रसिद्ध्यति।
सुकरैः स्वैगुणैः कर्तुः कर्मकर्त्तेति तद्विदुः॥

यह कारिका भी वाक्यपदीय की प्रतीत होती है यद्यपि हमें मुद्रित वाक्यपदीय में यह कारिका नहीं मिली, तथापि पहली कारिका के उद्धरण से व्यक्त है कि भर्तृहरि काशिका से पूर्वभावी दुर्गसिंह से भी पूर्ववर्ती है।

४. शतपथ ब्राह्मण का व्याख्याता हरिस्वामी प्रथम काण्ड की व्याख्या में वाक्यपदीय के प्रथम श्लोक के उत्तरार्ध के एक देश को उद्धृत करता है—

अन्ये तु शब्दब्रह्मैवेदं 'विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया' [2] इत्यत आहुः।

हरिस्वामी अपनी शतपथव्याख्या के प्रथम काण्ड के अन्त में लिखता है—

श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यच्छातपथीं श्रुतिम्॥
यदाब्दानां कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि वै।
चत्वारिंशत् समाश्चान्ये तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम्॥

अर्थात्—श्रीमान् अवन्तिनाथ विक्रमादित्य के धर्माध्यक्ष हरिस्वामी ने कलि सं० ३७४० (या ३०४७) में प्रथम काण्ड की व्याख्या लिखी। कुछ काल पूर्व तक ऐतिहासिक विद्वान् द्वितीय श्लोक का अर्थ 'कलि सं० ३७४०' (अर्थात् वि० सं० ६९५) करते थे। ग्वालियर से प्रकाशित विक्रम स्मारक ग्रन्थ में पं० सदाशिव लक्ष्मीधर कात्रे का एक लेख छपा है। उसमें पूर्वोक्त दोनों श्लोकों का सामञ्जस्य करने के लिए द्वितीय श्लोक का अर्थ 'सप्त ७+त्रिंशच्छतानि ३०००+चत्वारिंशत् ४०=३०४७' किया है। श्लोक में 'वै' पद का प्रयोग होने से इस प्रकार कालनिर्देश हो सकता है। यदि यह कल्पना स्वीकार कर ली जाय तो प्रथम श्लोक के साथ संगति ठीक बैठ जाती है। विक्रम संवत् का आरंभ कलि सं० ३०४५ से होता हैं। ३७४० अर्थ करने पर वि० सं० ६९५ में अवन्ति में कोई विक्रम था, यह अभी तक इतिहास से असिद्ध है। यदि कात्रे महाशय की कल्पना को ठीक न भी मानें तब भी इतना स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि हरिस्वामी से पूर्ववर्ती है।

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१. देखो—हमारी संपादित 'दशपादी उणादि वृत्ति' का उपोद्घात, पृष्ठ ४४।
२. उत्तरार्ध का पूरा पाठ—'विवर्तते ऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः' है।

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५. हरिस्वामी ने शतपथ प्रथम काण्ड की व्याख्या में प्रभाकर को उद्धृत किया है।[१] प्रभाकर भट्ट कुमारिल का शिष्य माना जाता है। कुमारिल तन्त्रवार्तिक के व्याकरणाधिकरण (१।३।८) में वाक्यपदीय के वचन को उद्धृत करके उसका खण्डन करता है।[२] इस से विस्पष्ट है कि हरिस्वामी से पूर्ववर्ती प्रभाकर, उससे पूर्ववर्ती कुमारिल और उससे प्राचीन भर्तृहरि है।

६. हरिस्वामी के गुरु स्कन्दस्वामी ने निरुक्त टीका १।२ में वाक्यपदीय के तृतीय काण्ड का **"पूर्वामवस्थामजहत्"** इत्यादि पूर्ण श्लोक उद्धृत किया है। इसी प्रकार निरुक्त टीका भाग १ पृष्ठ १० पर क्रिया के विषय में जितने पक्षान्तर दर्शाये हैं, वे सब वाक्यपदीय के क्रियासमुद्देश के आधार पर लिखे गये हैं। निरुक्त टीका ५।१६ में उद्धृत **"साहचार्यं विराधिना"** पाठ भी वाक्यपदीय २।३१७ का है। यहां **"साहचर्यं विरोधिता"** पाठ होना चाहिये। इन प्रमाणों से व्यक्त है कि वाक्यपदीय की रचना स्कन्दस्वामी के निरुक्त भाष्य से पूर्व हो चुकी थी।

७. स्कन्द का सहयोगी भट्ट महेश्वर निरुक्त टीका ८।२ में एक वचन उद्धृत करता है—

> पीनो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते चेत्येवमादिवचःश्रुतौ।
> रात्रिभोजनविज्ञानं श्रुतार्थापत्तिरिष्यते॥

यह श्लोक भट्ट कुमारिल कृत श्लोकवार्तिक का है।[३] निरुक्त टीका का मुद्रित-पाठ अशुद्ध है। भट्ट कुमारिल ने वाक्यपदीय को उद्धृत किया है, यह हम पूर्व लिख चुके हैं। इससे भी स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि सं० ६९५ से बहुत पूर्ववर्ती है। आधुनिक ऐतिहासिक भट्ट कुमारिल का काल विक्रम की आठवीं शताब्दी मानते हैं, वह अशुद्ध है, यह भी प्रमाण सं० ५, ७ से स्पष्ट है।

८. इत्सिग अपनी भारतयात्रा में लिखता है—"इस के अनन्तर 'पेइ-न' है। इस में ३००० श्लोक हैं और इसका टीकाभाग १४००० श्लोकों में है। श्लोक भाग भर्तृहरि की रचना है। और टीका भाग शास्त्र के उपाध्याय धर्मपाल का माना जाता है।"[३]

कई ऐतिहासिक 'पेइ-न' को वाक्यपदीय का तृतीय 'प्रकीर्ण' काण्ड मानते हैं। यदि यह ठीक हो तो वाक्यपदीय की रचना धर्मपाल से पूर्व माननी होगी। धर्मपाल की मृत्यु सं० ६२७ सन् ५७०) में हो गई थी।[४] अतः वाक्यपदीय की रचना निश्चय ही संवत् ६०० से पूर्व हुई होगी।

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१. अथवा सूत्राणि यथा विध्युद्देश इति प्राभाकराः—अपः प्रणयतीति यथा। हमारा हस्तलेख, पृष्ठ ५।

२. यदपि केनचिदुक्तम्—'तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते' इति। तद्रूपरसगन्धेष्वपि वक्तव्यमासीत्। पूना सं० भाग १, पृष्ठ २६६।

३. काशी सं० पृष्ठ ४६३।

३. भारतयात्रा पृष्ठ २७६।

४. इन्ट्रोडक्शन टु वैशेषिक फिलासॉफ़ी एकॉर्डिंग दि दशपदार्थी शास्त्र By.H.U.I. १९१७ p.१०

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९. अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह का टीकाकार इन्दु वाग्भट का साक्षात् शिष्य है। वह उत्तरतन्त्र अ० ५० की टीका में लिखता है —

पदार्थयोजनास्तु व्युत्पन्नानां प्रसिद्धा एवेत्यत आचार्येण नोक्ताः। तासु च तत्र भवतो हरेः श्लोकौ —

संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता।
अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः॥
सामर्थ्यमौचितिर्देशः कालो व्यक्तिः स्वरादयः।
शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः॥ अनयोरर्थः—

इन में प्रथम कारिका भर्तृहरि विरचित वाक्यपदीय २। ३१७ में उपलब्ध होती है। दूसरी कारिका काशी संस्करण में उपलब्ध नहीं होती, परन्तु प्रथम कारिका की पुण्यराज की टीका पृष्ठ २१६ पंक्ति१६ से आगे द्वितीय कारिका की व्याख्या छपी हुई है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि द्वितीय कारिका मुद्रित ग्रन्थ में छपने से रह गई है। वाक्यपदीय के कई हस्तलेखों में द्वितीयकारिका उपलब्ध होती है।

वाग्भट का काल प्रायः निश्चित सा है। अष्टाङ्ग संग्रह उत्तरतन्त्र अ० ४९ में पलाण्डुरसायन, प्रकरण में लिखा है —

रसोनानन्तरं वायोः पलाण्डुः परमौषधम्।
साक्षादिव स्थितं यत्र शकाधिपतिजीवितम्।
यस्योपयोगेन शकाङ्गनानां लावण्यसारादिव निर्जितानाम्।
कपोलकान्त्या विजितः शशाङ्को रसातलं गच्छति निर्विदेव॥

इन श्लोकों के आधार पर अनेक ऐतिहासिक विद्वान् वाग्भट को चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय के काल में मानते हैं।[1] पाश्चात्यमतानुसार चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय का राज्य काल सं०४३७–४७० तक है। पं० भगवद्दत्त जी बी. ए ने अपने 'भारतवर्ष का इतिहास' ग्रन्थ में ७९ प्रमाणों से सिद्ध किया है कि चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय ही विक्रमसंवत् प्रवर्तक प्रसिद्ध विक्रमादित्य था।[2] अष्टाङ्गहृदय की इन्दु टीका के सम्पादक ने भूमिका में लिखा है—'कई जर्मन-विद्वान् वाग्भट को ईसा की द्वितीय शताब्दी में मानते हैं।'[3] इन्दु के उपर्युक्त प्रमाण से इतना स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि किसी प्रकार विक्रम सं० ४०० से अर्वाचीन नहीं है।

१०. श्री पं० भगवद्दत्त जी ने 'वैदिक वाङ्मय का इतिहास' भाग १ खण्ड २ पृष्ठ २०६ पर लिखा है—

"अभी अभी अध्यापक रामकृष्ण कवि ने सूचना भेजी है कि भर्तृहरि की मीमांसा वृत्ति के कुछ भाग मिले हैं, वे शाबर से पहले के हैं।"

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१. अष्टाङ्गहृदय पृष्ठ सं० की भूमिका।
२. भारतवर्ष का इतिहास द्वितीय सं०, पृष्ठ ३२९–३५०।
३. अष्टाङ्गहृदय भाग १, भूमिका पृष्ठ ५।

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इस के अनन्तर 'आचार्य पुष्पाञ्जलि वाल्यूम' में पं० रामकृष्ण कवि का एक लेख प्रकाशित हुआ है। उस में पृष्ठ ५१ पर लिखा है— **"वाक्यपदीयकार भर्तृहरिकृत जैमिनीय मीमांसा की वृत्ति शबर से प्राचीन है।"**

भर्तृहरि कृत महाभाष्यदीपिका के अवलोकन से स्पष्ट विदित होता है कि भर्तृहरि मीमांसा का महान् पण्डित था। भर्तृहरि शबर से प्राचीन है इस की पुष्टि महाभाष्यदीपिका से भी होती है। भर्तृहरि लिखता है —

धर्मप्रयोजनो वेति मीमांसकदर्शनम्। अवस्थित एव धर्मः सत्वग्निहोत्रादिभिरभिव्यज्यते, तत्प्रेरितस्तु फलदो भवति। यथा स्वामी भृत्यैः सेवायां प्रेर्यते। दीपिका हस्त० पृष्ठ ३८।

न्यायमञ्जरीकार भट्ट जयन्त किन्हीं प्राचीन मीमांसकों का मत उद्धृत करता है—

वृद्धमीमांसका यागादिकर्मनिर्वर्त्यमपूर्वं नाम धर्ममभिवदन्ति, यागादिकर्मैवेति शाबरा ब्रुवते। न्यायमञ्जरी पृष्ठ २७९।

शबरस्वामी अपने मीमांसाभाष्य (१।१।१) में लिखता है —

यो हि यागमनुतिष्ठति तं धार्मिक इति समाचक्षते। यश्च यस्य कर्त्ता स तेन व्यपदिश्यते।

इन पाठों की तुलना से व्यक्त होता है कि धर्म के विषय में मीमांसकों के तीन मत हैं।

१. भर्तहरि के मत में धर्म नित्य है, यागादि से उसकी अभिव्यक्ति होती है।

२. वृद्ध मीमांसक (शबर से प्राचीन) यागादि से उत्पन्न होने वाले अपूर्व को धर्म मानते हैं।

३. शबरस्वामी यागादि कर्म को ही धर्म मानता है।

धर्म के इन स्वरूपों पर विचार करने से व्यक्त है कि भट्ट जयन्तोक्त वृद्ध मीमांसक शबर से प्राचीन हैं और भर्तहरि उन वृद्ध मीमांसकों से भी प्राचीन है। भर्तृहरि की महाभाष्यदीपिका में अन्यत्र भी अनेक स्थानों में मीमांसक मतों का उल्लेख है, वे प्रायः शाबर मत से भिन्न हैं।

११. भारतीय जनश्रुति के अनुसार भर्तृहरि विक्रम का सहोदर भ्राता है। 'नामूला जनश्रुतिः' के नियमानुसार इस में कुछ तथ्यांश अवश्य है।

१२. काशी के समीपवर्ती चुनारगढ़ के प्रसिद्ध किले में भर्तृहरि की एक गुफा है। यह किला विक्रमादित्य का बनवाया हुआ है, ऐसी वहां प्रसिद्धि है। महाराज विक्रम की राजधानी उज्जैन में भी भर्तृहरि की गुफा प्रसिद्ध है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि भर्तृहरि और विक्रमादित्य का कुछ पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध अवश्य था।

१३. प्रबन्धकोश में भर्तृहरि को महाराज शूद्रक का भाई लिखा है। महाराजधिराज समुद्रगुप्त विरचित कृष्णचरित के अनुसार शूद्रक किसी विक्रम संवत् का प्रवर्त्तक था।[१] श्री पं० भगवद्दत्त जी ने अपने भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में अनेक प्रमाणों से शूद्रक का काल विक्रम से लगभग ५०० वर्ष पूर्व निश्चित किया है।[२]

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१. सतां मतः सोऽश्वमेधं कृतवानुरुविक्रमः। वत्सरं स्वं शकान् जित्वा प्रावर्तयत वैक्रमम् ॥११॥

२. भारतवर्ष का इतिहास, द्वितीय सं०, पृष्ठ २६१-३०६।

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इन सब प्रमाणों पर विचार करने से प्रतीत होता है कि भर्तृहरि निश्चय ही बहुत प्राचीन ग्रन्थकार है। जो लोग इत्सिंग के लेखानुसार इसे विक्रम की सातवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में मानते हैं, वे निश्चय ही भूल करते हैं। हां, यदि प्रमाणान्तरों से योरोपियन विद्वानों द्वारा निर्धारित चीनी यात्रियों की तिथियां पीछे हट जायें, तो इस प्रकार के विरोध दूर हो सकते हैं, अन्यथा इत्सिंग के लेख को अप्रामाणित मानना होगा। भर्तृहरि विषयक इत्सिंग की भूल हम पीछे दर्शा चुके हैं। इत्सिंग के वर्णन को पढ़ने से प्रतीत होता है कि उसने भर्तृहरि का कोई ग्रन्थ नहीं देखा था। भर्तृहरि के ग्रन्थों के विषय में उसका दिया हुआ परिचय अत्यन्त भ्रमपूर्ण है।

अनेक भर्तृहरि

हमारा विचार है कि भर्तृहरि नाम के अनेक व्यक्ति हो चुके हैं। उनका ठीक ठीक विभाग ज्ञात न होने से इतिहास में अनेक उलझनें पड़ गई हैं। विक्रमादित्य, सातवाहन, कालिदास और भोज आदि के विषय में भी ऐसी ही अनेक उलझनें हैं। पाश्चात्य विद्वान् उन उलझनों को सुलझाने का प्रयत्न नहीं करते, किन्तु अपनी मनमानी कल्पना के अनुसार काल निर्धारण करने की चेष्टा करते हैं, और उनके मत में जो बाधक प्रमाण होते हैं, उन्हें अप्रामाणिक कह कर टाल देते हैं।

भर्तृहरि नाम का एक व्यक्ति हुआ है या अनेक, अब हम इस विषय में विचार करते हैं—

भर्तृहरि विरचित ग्रन्थ

संस्कृवाङ्मय में भर्तृहरि के नाम से निम्न ग्रन्थ प्रसिद्ध हैं—

१. महाभाष्यदीपिका।

२. वाक्यपदीय मूल (काण्ड १, २, ३)।

३. वाक्यपदीय की स्वोपज्ञ टीका (काण्ड १, २)।

४. भट्टिकाव्य।

५. भागवृत्ति।

६. शतकत्रय—नीति, श्रृङ्गार, वैराग्य।

इनके अतिरिक्त भर्तृहरि विरचित तीन ग्रन्थ और ज्ञात हुए हैं—

७. पूर्वमीमांसावृत्ति।

८. उत्तरमीमांसावृत्ति।

९. शब्दधातुसमीक्षा।

भर्तृहरि विषयक उलझन को सुलझाने के लिये हमें इन ग्रन्थों की अन्तरङ्ग और बहिरङ्ग परीक्षा करनी होगी।

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महाभाष्यदीपिका, वाक्यपदीय और उसकी स्वोपज्ञटीका समानकर्तृक हैं

महाभाष्यदीपिका, वाक्यपदीय और उसके प्रथम द्वितीय काण्ड की स्वोपज्ञ टीका की परस्पर तुलना करने से विदित होता है कि इन तीनों ग्रन्थों का रचयिता एक व्यक्ति है। यथा—

महाभाष्यदीपिका—**यथैव गतं गोत्वमेवमिङ्गितादयोऽप्यर्थतः महिष्यादिषु दृष्टं व्युत्पत्त्यापि कर्मण्याश्रीयमाणो गमिवत् विशेषणं दुरान्वाख्यानम्, उपाददानो गच्छति गर्जति गदति वा गौरिति।**[1]

वाक्यपदीय—**कैश्चिन्निर्वचनं भिन्नं गिरतेर्गर्जतेर्गमेः।**
गवतेर्गदतेर्वापि गौरित्यत्र दर्शितम्॥[2]

वाक्यपदीय स्वोपज्ञटीका—**यथैव हि गमिक्रिया जात्यन्तरैकसमवायिनीभ्यो गमिक्रियाभ्योऽत्यन्तभिन्ना तुल्यरूपत्वविधौ त्वन्तरेणैव गमिमभिधीयमाना गौरिति शब्दव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणि निमित्तत्वेनाश्रीयते तथैव गिरति गर्जति गदति इत्येवमादयः साधारणाः सामान्यशब्दनिबन्धनाः क्रियाविशेषास्तैस्तैराचार्यैर्गोशब्दव्युत्पादनप्रक्रियायां परिगृहीताः।**[3]

इसी प्रकार अन्यत्र भी तीनों ग्रन्थों में परस्पर महती समता हैं, जिनसे इन तीनों ग्रन्थों का एककर्तृत्व सिद्ध है। वाक्यपदीय की रचना वि० सं० ४५० से अर्वाचीन नहीं है, यह हम ऊपर सप्रमाण सिद्ध कर चुके हैं। अतः महाभाष्यदीपिका का काल भी वि० सं० ४५० से अर्वाचीन नहीं है।

भट्टिकाव्य

भट्टिकाव्य का रचयिता कौन है, इस विषय में दो मत हैं। जयमङ्गला टीका का रचयिता ग्रन्थकार का नाम भट्टिस्वामी लिखता है। मल्लिनाथ आदि अन्य सब टीकाकार भट्टिकाव्य को भर्तृहरिविरचित मानते हैं। पञ्चपादी उणादिवृत्तिकार श्वेतवनवासी भी भट्टिकाव्य को 'भर्तृकाव्य' के नाम से उद्धृत करता है।[4] भट्टिकाव्य की रचना वलभी के श्रीधरसेन के राज्यकाल में हुई है।[5] वलभी के राजकुल में श्रीधर नाम के चार राजा हैं, जिनका राज्यकाल वि० सं० ५५०—७०५ के मध्य माना जाता है। अतः भट्टिकाव्य का कर्त्ता महाभाष्यदीपिका और वाक्यपदीय का कर्त्ता भर्तृहरि नहीं हो सकता।

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१. हमारा हस्तलेख पृष्ठ ३।
२. काण्ड २, कारिका १७५।
३. काण्ड २, कारिका १७५ की टीका, रामलाल कपूर ट्रस्ट लाहौर का संस्करण पृष्ठ ६२।
४. तथा च भर्तृकाव्ये प्रयोगः। पृष्ठ ८३, १२६। एक हस्तलेख में 'भट्टिकाव्ये' पाठ है।
५. काव्यमिदं विहितं मया वलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम्।१२।३५॥

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यदि मल्लिनाथ आदि टीकाकारों का मत सत्य माना जाय तो भट्टिकाव्य का रचयिता भर्तृहरि द्वितीय भर्तृहरि होगा। अन्यथा टीकाकारों का लेख अप्रामाणिक मानना होगा। हमारा विचार है कि भट्टिकाव्य के रचयिता के नाम विषयक दोनों ही मत ठीक हैं। ग्रन्थकार का अपना नाम भट्टिस्वामी है, परन्तु उसके असाधारण वैयाकरणत्व के कारण वह औपाधिक भर्तृहरि के नाम से विख्यात हुआ। संस्कृत वाङ्मय में कालिदास नाम से भी इसी प्रकार कई व्यक्ति प्रसिद्ध हैं। महाराज समुद्रगुप्त विरचित कृष्णचरित की प्रस्तावना से व्यक्त होता है कि शाकुन्तल नाटक का कर्त्ता शूद्रक का सभ्य आद्य कालिदास था,[1] परन्तु रघुवंश महाकाव्य का रचयिता हरिषेण भी कालिदास और रघुकार के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ।[2] अनेक ग्रन्थकार इसी भेद को व्यक्त करने के लिये रघुवंश के कर्त्ता को रघुकार नाम से ही स्मरण करते हैं।

भागवृत्ति

भागवृत्ति अष्टाध्यायी की एक प्राचीन और प्रमाणिक वृत्ति है। इसके उद्धरण अनेक ग्रन्थों में मिलते हैं। भाषावृत्ति का व्याख्या सृष्टिधराचार्य लिखता है—भर्तृहरि ने श्रीधरसेन की आज्ञा से भागवृत्ति की रचना की थी"।[3] कातन्त्रपरिशिष्ट के कर्त्ता श्रीपतिदत्त ने भागवृत्ति के रचयिता का नाम विमलमति लिखा है।[4] भागवृत्ति की रचना काशिका के अनन्तर हुई है, अतः भागवृत्तिकार भर्तृहरि वाक्यपदीकार आद्य भर्तृहरि से भिन्न है। क्या संभव हो सकता है कि भागवृत्ति के रचयिता का वास्तविक नाम विमलमति हो और भर्तृहरि उस का भी औपाधिक नाम हो। हमने इस पर विशेष विचार 'संस्कृत व्याकरण शास्त्र का इतिहास' ग्रन्थके 'अष्टाध्यायी के वृत्तिकार' प्रकरण में किया है।

भट्टिकार और भागवृत्तिकार में भेद

यदि भट्टिकाव्य और भागवृत्ति के रचयिता का नाम भर्तृहरि स्वीकार कर लें तब भी ये दोनों ग्रन्थ एक व्यक्ति की रचना नहीं हो सकते। इन दोनों की विभिन्नता में निम्न हेतु हैं—

१. भाषावृत्ति २।४।७४ में पुरुषोत्तमदेव ने भागवृत्ति का खण्डन करके स्वपक्ष की सिद्धि में भट्टिकाव्य का प्रमाण उपस्थित किया है।

२. भाषावृत्ति ५।२।११२ के अवलोकन करने से विदित होता है कि भागवृत्तिकार भट्टिकाव्य के छन्दोभंग दोष का समाधान करता है।[5]

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१. राजकवि वर्णन, श्लोक १५,१६।
२. काव्येन सो ऽथ रघुकार इति प्रसिद्धः यः कालिदास इति महार्हनामा……२४। हरिषेण कविर्वाग्मी शास्त्रशस्त्रविचक्षणः……।२६।
३. भागवृत्तिर्भर्तृहरिणा श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा विरचिता। ८।४।६८॥
४. तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता विमलमतिना निपातितः। सन्धिसूत्र १४२।
५. परिषद्बलान् महाब्राह्मैरिति भट्टिः (   ) । इह तु नवाक्षरैकपादेऽपि वृत्तभेदो ऽस्यास्तीति, यथा—प्रधाने कर्मण्यभिधेये लादीनाहुर्द्विकर्मणामिति भागवृत्तिः।

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३. भागवृत्ति के जितने उद्धरण उपलब्ध हुए हैं,[1] उन के देखने से ज्ञात होता है कि भागवृत्तिकार आंख मीचकर महाभाष्य का अनुसरण करता है, किञ्चिन्मात्र भी उस से इतस्ततः नहीं जाता, परन्तु भट्टिकाव्य में अनेक प्रयोग महाभाष्य के विपरीत हैं।[2]

इन हेतुओं से स्पष्ट है कि भट्टि और भागवृत्ति का कर्त्ता एक नहीं हैं।

महाभाष्य व्याख्याता और भागवृत्तिकार में भेद

भागवृत्ति को भर्तृहरि की कृति मानने पर भी वह महाभाष्यव्याख्याता आद्य भर्तृहरि से भिन्न व्यक्ति है, [2] इस में निम्न प्रमाण हैं—

१. यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते इति उद्याम उपराम इत्येव भवतीत भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्। [3]

२. भर्तृहरिणा च नित्यार्थतैवोक्ता, तथा च भागवृत्तिकारेण प्रत्युदाहरणमुपन्यस्तम्–तन्त्रे उतम्–तन्त्रयुतम्।[4]

३. भर्तृहरिणा तूक्तम्–'यः, प्रातिपदिकान्तो नकारो न भवति तदर्थं नुम्-ग्रहणं प्राहिण्वदिति। अत्र हि हिवेर्लुङि नुमो णत्वमिति'। 'तत्रपूर्वपदाधिकारः, समासे च पूर्वोत्तरपदव्यवहारः, तत्कथं णत्वमिति न व्यक्तीकृतम्' इति भागवृत्तिकारेणोक्तम्।[5]

इन उद्धरणों में भर्तृहरि और भागवृत्तिकार का भेद स्पष्ट है। तृतीय उद्धरण से व्यक्त होता है कि भागवृतिकार ने भर्तृहरि का कहीं कहीं खण्डन भी किया था।

शतक त्रय

नीति, शृङ्गार और वैराग्य नाम के तीन शतक भर्तृहरि के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। इनका रचयिता कौन सा भर्तृहरि है यह अज्ञात है। जैनग्रन्थकार वर्धमानसूरि गणरत्नमहोदधि में लिखता है—

वार्तैव वार्तम्। यथा—

हरिराकुमारमखिलाभिधानवित् स्वजनस्य वार्तामन्वयुङ्क्त सः।[6]

क्या वर्धमान द्वारा उद्धृत पद्य का संकेत नीति शतक के **'याँ चिन्तयामि मयि**

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१. भागवृत्ति के जितने उद्धरण उपलब्ध हुए हैं, उनका संग्रह हमने 'भागवृत्ति-संकलनम्'नाम से प्रकाशित किया है।

२. उच्चांप्रचक्रुर्नगरस्य मार्गान् (भट्टि ३ । ५) इत्यादि। महाभाष्य ३।१।४० के 'व्यवहितनिवृत्यर्थं च' वातिक के अनुसार व्यवहित प्रयोग नहीं हो सकता। अत एव जयमङ्गला टीकाकार ने 'उच्चान्' पाठ मानकर क्लिष्ट कल्पना की है। परन्तु प्राचीन साहित्य में ऐसे अनेक प्रयोग उपलब्ध होते हैं।

३. दुर्घटवृत्ति पृष्ठ ११७।

४. तन्त्रप्रदीप ८।३।११॥

५. सीरदेवीय परिभाषावृत्ति, पृष्ठ १२।

६. गणरत्नमहोदधि पृष्ठ १२०।

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सा विरक्ता,[1] श्लोक की ओर हो सकता है ? यदि यह कल्पना ठीक हो तो नीति शतक आद्य भर्तृहरि कृत होगा, क्योंकि इस श्लोक में हरि का विशेषण **'अखिलाभिधानवित्'** लिखा है। वर्धमान अन्यत्र भी आद्य भर्तृहरि के लिये **'वेदविदामलङ्कारभूत'** और **'प्रमाणितशब्दशास्त्र'** आदि विशेषणों का प्रयोग करता है।[2]

पूर्वमीमांसावृत्ति

यदि पण्डित रामकृष्ण कवि का पूर्वोद्धृत लेख ठीक हो तो यह वृत्ति निश्चय ही आद्य भर्तृहरि विरचित होगी।

उत्तरमीमांसावृत्ति

यह वृत्ति अनुपलब्ध है। यामुनाचार्य ने एक सिद्धित्रय नाम का ग्रन्थ लिखा है। उसमें वेदान्तसूत्र व्याख्याता टङ्क, भर्तृप्रपञ्च, भर्तृमित्र, ब्रह्मदत्त, शंकर, श्रीवत्साङ्क और भास्कर के साथ भर्तृहरि का भी उल्लेख किया है।[3] इस से भर्तृहरिकृत वेदान्तसूत्र-वृत्ति की कुछ संभावना प्रतीत होती है।

शब्दधातुसमीक्षा

यह ग्रन्थ हमारे देखने में नहीं आया। इसका उल्लेख पं० माधव कृष्ण शर्मा ने अपने 'भर्तहरि नाट् ए वौद्धिष्ट' नामक लेख में किया है। यह लेख 'दि पूना ओरियण्ट-लिस्ट' पत्रिका अप्रैल सन् १६४० में छपा है।

इत्सिंग की भूल का कारण

भट्टिकाव्य और भागवृत्ति के रचयिताओं के वास्तविक नाम चाहे कुछ रहे हों, परन्तु इतना स्पष्ट है कि ये ग्रन्थ भी भर्तृहरि के नाम से प्रसिद्ध रहे हैं। इस प्रकार संस्कृत वाङ्मय में न्यून से न्यून तीन भर्तृहरि अवश्य हुए हैं। इनका काल पृथक् पृथक् है। इनकी ऐतिहासिक शृङ्खला जोड़ने से इत्सिंग के वचन में इतनी सत्यता अवश्य प्रतीत होती है कि वि० सं० ७०७ के लगभग कोई भर्तृहरि नामक विद्वान् अवश्य विद्यमान था और वह था भागवृत्ति का रचयिता भर्तृहरि। भागवृत्ति की रचना वि० संवत् ७०१-

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१. श्लोक २। पुरोहित गोपीनाथ एम. ए. सम्पादित, वेङ्कटेश्वर प्रेस बंबई सन् १८६५। कई संस्करणों में यह श्लोक नहीं है।

२. यस्त्वयं वेदविदामलङ्कारभूतो वेदाङ्गत्वात् प्रमाणितशब्दशास्त्रः सर्वज्ञंमन्य उपमीयते……। गणरत्नमहोदधि, पृष्ठ १२३।

३. तथापि आचार्यटङ्क-भर्तृप्रपञ्च-भर्तृमित्र-भर्तृहरि-ब्रह्मदत्त-शंकर-श्री-वत्साङ्क-भास्करादिविरचितसितासितविविधनिबन्धश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धयो न यथा-न्यथा च प्रतिपद्यन्ते इति तत्प्रीतये च युक्तः प्रकरणप्रक्रमः।

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७०५ के मध्य हुई है, यह हम अपने 'भागवृत्तिसंकलनम्' में दर्शा चुके हैं। इत्सिंग ने भर्तृहरि को बौद्ध लिखा है, यह भी भागवृत्तिकार विमलमति उपनाम भर्तृहरि के लिये उपयुक्त हो सकता है, क्योंकि विमलमति एक प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध ग्रन्थकार है। अतः सम्भव हो सकता है कि उस ने वलभीनिवासी भागवृत्तिकार भर्तृहरि की मृत्यु का समाचार सुनकर उसका उल्लेख वाक्यपदीय आदि प्राचीन ग्रन्थों के रचयिता के प्रसङ्ग में कर दिया हो।

भर्तृहरि त्रय के उद्धरणों का विभाग

भर्तृहरि नाम के अनेक व्यक्ति होने पर एक महती कठिनाई यह उपस्थित होती है कि प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भर्तृहरि के नाम से उपलभ्यमान उद्धरण किस भर्तृहरि के समझे जावें। हमने वाक्यपदीय, उसकी स्वोपज्ञटीका, महाभाष्यदीपिका, भट्टि काव्य और भागवृत्ति के उद्धरणों पर सूक्ष्मता से विचार करके निम्न परिणाम निकाले हैं—

१. प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भर्तृहरि या हरि के नाम जितने उद्धरण उपलब्ध होते हैं वे सब आद्य भर्तृहरि के हैं।

२. भट्टि काव्य के सभी उद्धरण भट्टि के नाम से दिये गये हैं। केवल श्वेतवनवासी विरचित उणादिवृत्ति के एक हस्तलेख में भट्टि काव्य के उद्धरण भर्तृकाव्य के नाम से दिये हैं। दूसरे हस्तलेख में भट्टि काव्य पाठ है।[1]

३. भागवृत्ति के उद्धरण भागवृत्ति, भागवृत्तिकृत् अथवा भागवृत्तिकार नाम से दिये हैं। भागवृत्ति का कोई उद्धरण भर्तृहरि के नाम से नहीं दिया।

बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है कि अर्वाचीन वैयाकरणों ने तीनों भर्तृहरियों के उद्धरण सर्वत्र पृथक् पृथक् नामों से उद्धृत किये हैं। इससे कहीं पर भी साङ्कर्य नहीं हुआ। भाषावृत्ति के सम्पादक श्रीशचन्द्र चक्रवर्ती ने इस विभाग को न समझकर अनेक भूलें की हैं।[2] भावी ग्रन्थसम्पादकों को इस विभाग का परिज्ञान अवश्य होना चाहिये, अन्यथा भयङ्कर भूलें होने की सम्भावना है।

भर्तृहरि के विषय में इतना लिखने के अनन्तर प्रकृत विषय का निरूपण किया जाता है।

महाभाष्यदीपिका

आचार्य भर्तृहरि ने महाभाष्य की एक विस्तृत और प्रौढ़ व्याख्या लिखी है।

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१. पृष्ठ ८३, पाठान्तर ४।

२. भाषावृत्ति के सम्पादक ने 'गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्तृहरिः' इस उद्धरण को भागवृत्ति के रचयिता का लिखा है। देखो भाषावृत्ति, पृष्ठ ३२, टि ३०। परन्तु दुर्घटवृत्ति में भागवृत्ति और भर्तृहरि दोनों के भिन्न भिन्न पाठ उद्धृत किये हैं। यथा– 'गतताच्छील्ये इति भागवृत्तिः, गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्तृहरिः" (दुर्घटवृत्ति पृष्ठ १६)। इसी प्रकार भाषावृत्ति के सम्पादक ने ३।१।१६ में उद्धृत भर्तृहरि के पाठ को भागवृत्तिकार का लिखा है।

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इसका नाम महाभाष्यदीपिका है।[1] इस व्याख्या के उद्धरण व्याकरण के अनेक ग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध होते हैं। वर्तमान में महाभाष्यदीपिका का सर्व प्रथम परिचय देने का श्रेय महाभाष्य के सम्पादक डा० कीलहार्न को है।

महाभाष्यदीपिका का परिमाण

इत्सिंग ने अपनी भारत यात्राविवरण में दीपिका का परिमाण २५,००० श्लोक लिखा है। परन्तु उसके लेख से यह विदित नहीं होता कि भर्तृहरि ने सम्पूर्ण महाभाष्य पर टीका लिखी थी, अथवा कुछ भाग पर। विक्रम की १२ वीं शताब्दी का जैन ग्रन्थकार वर्धमान सूरि लिखता है —

भर्तृहरिर्वाक्यप्रकीर्णयोः कर्ता, महाभाष्यत्रिपाद्या व्याख्याता च।

इसी प्रकार प्रकीर्णकाण्ड की व्याख्या की समाप्ति पर हेलाराज लिखता है—

त्रैलोक्यगामिनी येन त्रिकाण्डी त्रिपदी कृता।
तस्मै समस्तविद्याश्रीकान्ताय हरये नमः॥

इस श्लोक में **'त्रिपदी'** पद त्रिकाण्डी वाक्यपदीय का भी विशेषण हो सकता है, परन्तु हमारा विचार है यह महाभाष्य की त्रिपादी टीका के लिये ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है।

महाभाष्यदीपिका के उपलब्ध भाग का जितना परिमाण है उसको देखते हुए २५,००० श्लोक परिमाण तीन पाद से अधिक ग्रन्थ का नहीं हो सकता। डा० कीलहार्न का भी यही मत है।

क्या भर्तृहरि ने सम्पूर्ण महाभाष्य पर टीका लिखी थी?

व्याकरण के विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में अनेक ऐसे उद्धरण उपलब्ध होते हैं, जिन से प्रतीत होता है कि भर्तृहरि ने संपूर्ण महाभाष्य पर टीका लिखी थी। यथा—

१. भर्तृहरि वाक्यपदीय ब्रह्मकाण्ड की स्वोपज्ञटीका में लिखता है — **"संहितासूत्रभाष्यविवरणे बहुधा विचारितम्"**।[2]

संहिता सूत्र अर्थात् **'परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता'** प्रथमाध्याय के चतुर्थ पाद का १०९ वां सूत्र है।

२ पुरुषोत्तमदेव भाषावृत्ति ३।१।१६ पर भर्तृहरि का उद्धरण देता है— **"धूमाच्चेति भर्तृहरिः"**।

यह उद्धरण इसी सूत्र पर हो सकता है। भाषावृत्ति के सम्पादक ने इसे भागवृत्तिकार का माना है, परन्तु यह ठीक नहीं है (देखो पूर्व पृष्ठ १६२ टि० २)।

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१. इति महामहोपाध्यायभर्तृहरिविरचितायां श्रीमहाभाष्यदीपिकायां प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे द्वितीयाह्निकम्। हमारा हस्तलेख पृष्ठ ११७।

२. भाग१, पृष्ठ ८२, लाहौर संस्करण।

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३. व्याकरण के 'दैवम्' ग्रन्थ का व्याख्याता लीलाशुक मुनि अपनी 'पुरुषकार नाम्नी व्याख्या में लिखता हैं — **"आह चैतत् सर्वं सुधाकरः— अनेन वर्तमाने क्तेन भूते प्राप्तः क्तो बाध्यते इति भर्तृहरिः। भाष्यटीकाकृतस्तु भूतेऽपि क्तो भवतीत्यूचुः। तथा च पूजितो गतः; पूजितो थातीति भूतकालवाच्यः; न तु पूज्यमानो वर्तमानः।"**[1]

भर्तृहरि का यह लेख महाभाष्य ३।२।१८८ की व्याख्या में ही हो सकता है।

४. शरणदेव दुर्घटवृत्ति ७।३।३४ में लिखता है—**"यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते इति उपराम उद्याम इत्येव भवतीति भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्।"**[2]

५. मैत्रेय रचित तन्त्रप्रदीप ८।३।२१ में लिखता है—**"भर्तृहरिणा चास्य नित्यार्थतैवोक्ता। तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता प्रत्युदाहरणमुपन्यस्तम्–तन्त्रे उतम् तन्त्रयुतम् इति।"**[3]

६. सीरदेव अपनी परिभाषावृत्ति में लिखता है—**भर्तृहरिणा तूक्तम्—यः प्रातिपदिकान्तनकारो न भवति तदर्थं नुमग्रहणम्, प्राह्णिवदिति।"**[4]

भर्तृहरि का यह उद्धरण महाभाष्य ८।४।११ की टीका से ही लिया जा सकता है। महाभाष्य में अन्यत्र इसका कोई प्रसङ्ग नहीं है।

इन उद्धरणों से इतना निश्चित है कि भर्तृहरि का कोई ग्रन्थ आठों अध्यायों पर अवश्य था। भर्तृहरि ने अष्टाध्यायी की वृत्ति लिखी हो ऐसा कोई प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं होता। अतः यही मानना ठीक है कि उसने सम्पूर्ण महाभाष्य पर व्याख्या लिखी थी। प्रतीत होता है, इत्सिंग के काल में जितना अंश उपलब्ध था, उसने उतने ग्रन्थ का ही परिमाण लिख दिया। वर्धमान के काल में दीपिका के केवल तीन पाद शेष रह गये होंगे। सम्प्रति उसका एक पाद भी पूर्ण उपलब्ध नहीं होता। लीलाशुक मुनि और सीरदेव ने तीसरे और आठवें अध्याय के जो उद्धरण दिये हैं वे सुधाकर और भागवृत्तिकार के ग्रन्थ से उद्धृत किये हैं, यह उन उद्धरणों से ही स्पष्ट है। सम्भव है तन्त्रप्रदीप का उद्धरण भी ग्रन्थातर से उद्धृत किया गया हो।

महाभाष्यदीपिका का वर्तमान हस्तलेख

भर्तृहरि विरचित महाभाष्यदीपिका का जो हस्तलेख इस समय उपलब्ध है, वह जर्मनी की राजधानी बर्लिन के पुस्तकालय में था। इस की सर्वप्रथम सूचना देने का सौभाग्य डा० कीलहार्न को है। इस हस्तलेख के फोटो लाहौर और मद्रास के पुस्तकालयों में हैं। दीपिका का दूसरी हस्तलेख अभी तक उपलब्ध नहीं हुआ।

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१. पृष्ठ १०६।

२. पृष्ठ ११७।

३. न्यास की भूमिका पृष्ठ १४ में उद्धृत।

४. पृष्ठ १२।

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उपलब्ध हस्तलेख का परिमाण—इस हस्तलेख का प्रथम पत्र नहीं है। हस्तलेख का अन्त "ञिच्च" (१।१।५३) सूत्र पर होता है। इसमें २१७ पत्रे अर्थात् ४३४ पृष्ठ हैं। प्रति पृष्ठ लगभग १२ पंक्तियाँ और प्रति पंक्ति ३५ अक्षर हैं। इस प्रकार संपूर्ण हस्तलेख का परिणाम लगभग ५७०० श्लोक है।

यह हस्तलेख अनेक व्यक्तियों के हाथ का लिखा हुआ है। कहीं कहीं पर पृष्ठ-मात्राएँ भी लगी हुई हैं। अतः यह हस्तलेख न्यूनातिन्यून ३०० वर्ष प्राचीन अवश्य है। इस हस्तलेख का पाठ अत्यन्त विकृत है। प्रतीत होता है कि इस प्रति की प्रतिलिपि किसी अत्यन्त प्राचीन पुस्तक से की गई है, उसके अक्षरविन्यास को इस प्रतिलिपि के लेखक जहां पढ़ने में असमर्थ रहे वहां कल्पना से अक्षर विन्यास कर दिया।

महाभाष्यदीपिका के उद्धरण—इसके उद्धरण कैयट, वर्धमान, शेष नारायण, शिवरामेन्द्र सरस्वती, नागेश और वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड आदि के ग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध होते हैं। अन्तिम चार ग्रन्थकार विक्रम की १७ वीं १८ वीं शताब्दी के है। अतः प्रयत्न करने पर इस टीका के अन्य हस्तलेख मिलने की पूरी सम्भावना है।

महाभाष्यदीपिका का सम्पादन—हमारे आचार्य श्री पं० ब्रह्मदत्त जी जिज्ञासु ने इस ग्रन्थ का सम्पादन सन् १९३५ में आरभ किया था। उस के चार फार्म काशी के 'सुप्रभातम्' पत्र में प्रकाशित हुए थे। तदनन्तर उनके काशी से लाहौर चले जाने और स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती कृत यजुर्वेद भाष्य के सम्पादन तथा उस पर विवरण लिखने के कार्य में लग जाने से दीपिका का सम्पादन कार्य मध्य में ही रुक गया। अब हम शीघ्र ही उस को सम्पादन करके प्रकाशित करेंगे।

भर्तृहरि के अन्य ग्रन्थ

आद्य भर्तृहरि ने महाभाष्यदीपिका के अतिरिक्त अन्य कई ग्रन्थ लिखे थे, जिन में से निम्न ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध हैं—

१. वाक्यपदीय (प्रथम द्वितीय काण्ड)।

२. वाक्यपदीय की स्वोपज्ञ टीका।

३. प्रकीर्ण काण्ड (वाक्यपदीय का तृतीयकाण्ड)।

इन का विशेष वर्णन 'संस्कृत व्याकरण-शास्त्र का इतिहास' ग्रन्थ के व्याकरण के 'दार्शनिक ग्रन्थकार' नामक प्रकरण में करेंगे। इनके अतिरिक्त भर्तृहरि रचित निम्न ग्रन्थों की सूचना और मिलती है—

४. पूर्वमीमांसावृत्ति।

५. उत्तरमीमांसा वृत्ति।

६. शब्दधातुसमीक्षा।

इनके विषय में हम इसी प्रकरण में पूर्व संक्षेप से लिख चुके हैं।

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महाभाष्यदीपिका के विशेष उद्धरण

हमने भर्तृहरि विरचित महाभाष्यदीपिका का अनेक बार पारायण किया है। उस में अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण वचन हैं। उनमें से कुछ एक अत्यन्त आवश्यक वचन हम नीचे उद्धृत करते हैं—

१. यथा तैत्तिरीयकाः कृतणत्वमग्निशब्दमुच्चारयन्ति[1]। पृष्ठ १।

२. एवं ह्युक्तम्—स्फोटः शब्दो ध्वनिस्तस्य व्यायामादुपजायते[2]। ५

३. अस्ति हि स्मृतिः—एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः ....[3] ।१६।

४. इऽडो अग्निनाग्निनेति विवृतिर्दृष्टा बह्वृच्सूत्रभाष्ये ।१७।

५. आश्वलायनसूत्रे—ये यजामहे........ ......।१७।

६. आपस्तम्ब सूत्रे—अग्नाग्ने.......... ......।१७।

७. शब्दपारायणम्, रुढिशब्दोऽयं कस्यचिद्ग्रन्थस्य ।२१।

८. संग्रह एतत् प्राधान्येन परिक्षितम्-नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति। चतुर्दश सहस्राणि वस्तूनि अस्मिन् संग्रहग्रन्थे (परीक्षितानि) ।२६।

९. सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशमिति। आर्हतानां मीमांसकानां च नैवास्ति विनाश एषाम् ।२६।

१०. एवं संग्रह एतत् प्रस्तुतम्—किं कार्यः शब्दोऽथ नित्य इति ।३०।

११. इहापि तदेव, कुतः? संग्रहोऽप्यस्यैव शास्त्रस्यैकदेशः। तत्रैकत्वाद् व्याडेश्च प्रामाण्यादिहापि तथैव सिद्धशब्द उपात्तः ।३०।

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१२. अन्ये वर्णयन्ति —यदुक्तं दर्शनस्य परार्थत्वाद् (मीमांसा १।१।१८)अपि प्रवृत्तत्वादिति। यदेव तेन भाष्येणोक्तमिति—कार्याणां वाग्विनियोगादप्यन्यद्दर्शनान्तरमस्ति। उत्पत्तिं प्रति तु अस्य यद्दर्शनम्—योपलब्धिः या निष्पत्तिः सा परार्थरूप इव। नहि परार्थताशून्यः कालः क्वचिदस्ति। तस्मादेतत् प्रतिपत्तव्यम्—अवस्थित एवासौ प्रयोक्तृकरणादिसन्निपातेन अभिव्यज्यत इति [4]।३६।

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१. तुलना करो—यद्यपि च अग्निर्वृत्राणि जङ्घनदिति वेदे कृतणत्वमग्निशब्दं पठन्ति। न्यायमञ्जरी पृष्ठ २८८।

२. यह वचन भर्तृहरि ने वाक्यदीय ब्रह्मकाण्ड की स्वोपज्ञटीका में भी उद्धृत किया है। देखो पृष्ठ ३५।

३. महाभाष्य ६।१।८४॥

४. भर्तृहरि ने मीमांसा १।१।१८ के किसी प्राचीन भाष्य का उद्धरण दिया है।

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१३. धर्मप्रयोजनो वेति मीमांसकदर्शनम् । अवस्थित एव धर्मः, स त्वग्निहोत्रादिभिरभिव्यज्यते, [1] तत्प्रेरितस्तु फलदो भवति । यथा स्वामी भृत्यैः सेवायां प्रेर्यते । ३८ ।

१४. निरुक्ते त्वेवं पठ्यते—विकारमस्यार्येषु भाषन्ते शव इति [2] । तत्रायमर्थः कुर्वते—कृतप्रत्ययान्तस्य यो विकार एकदेशस्तमेव भाषन्ते, न शवतिं सर्वप्रत्ययान्तां प्रकृतिमिति । ४२ ।

१५. तत्रैवोक्तम्—दीप्ताग्नयः खराहाराः कर्मनित्या महोदराः । ये नराः प्रति तां चिन्त्यं नावश्यं गुरुलाघवम्[3] ॥ ४४ ।

१६. भाष्यसूत्रे गुरुलाघवस्यानाश्रितत्वात् लक्षणप्रपञ्चयोस्तु मूलसूत्रेऽप्याश्रयणात् [4] इहापि लक्षणप्रपञ्चाभ्यां प्रवृत्तिः । ४८ ।

१७. एवं हि तत्रोक्तम्—स्फोटस्तावानेव, केवलं वृत्तिभेदः, ततश्च सर्वासु वृत्तिषु तत्कालत्वमिति[5] । ५८ ।

१८. केषांचित् वर्णोऽक्षरम्, केषाञ्चित् पदं वाक्यं च । ११५ ।

१९. एवं ह्यन्ये पठन्ति—वर्णा अक्षराणीति [6] । ११६ ।

२०. यदेवोक्तं वाक्यकारेण—वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्त्तिककारो ऽप्याह—······ । ११६ ।

२१. इति महामहोपाध्यायभर्तृहरिविरचितायां श्रीमहाभाष्यदीपिकायां प्रथमाध्यायस्य [प्रथमपादे] द्वितीयमाह्निकम् । ११७ ।

२२. नान्तः [पादमिति] पाठमाश्रित्येदमुपन्यस्तम् न प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमिति ।१४२ ।

२३. अयमेवार्थो वृत्तिकारेण दर्शितः—धात्वेकदेशलोपो धातुलोप इति । ···· एवं च केचिद् वृत्तिकारा धातुलोप इति किमर्थमिति पठन्ति । १४५,१४६ ।

२४. प्रजापतिर्वै यत् किंचन मनसा दीधेत तदधीत यजुभिरेव प्र प्नोति तदधीतयजुषामधीतयजुर्वं एतन्निक्त (?) ध्ययेत वर्ण्यते अयं हि तत्र व्याख्यानग्रन्थः – प्रजापतिर्वै यत् किंचन मनसाध्यायन् तदिति रासवानिति । १६५ ।

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१. तुलना करो—वृद्धमीमांसका यागादिकर्मनिर्वर्त्यमपूर्वं नाम धर्ममभिवदन्ति । यागादिकर्मैवेति शाबरा ब्रुवते । न्यायमञ्जरी पृष्ठ २७६ । यो हि यागमनुतिष्ठति तं धार्मिक इत्याचक्षते । यश्च यस्य कर्त्ता स तेन व्यपदिश्यते । मीमांसा, शाबर भाष्य १।१।२। इन उद्धरणों से स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि शबर स्वामी से बहुत प्रचीन है ।

२. निरुक्त २।२॥

३. चरक, सूत्रस्थान २७।३४३॥

४. तुलना करो—ते वै विधयः सुपरिगृहीता भवन्ति येषां लक्षणं प्रपञ्चश्च । महाभाष्य ६।३।१४॥

५. यह महाभाष्य १।१।७० के 'स्फोटस्तावानेव भवति, ध्वनिकृता वृद्धिः' पाठ की कोई प्राचीन व्याख्या प्रतीत होती है ।

६. तुलना करो—व्याकरणान्तरे 'वर्णा अक्षराणि' इति वचनात् । महाभाष्यप्रदीप अ० १, पाद १, आ० २ ।

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२५. 'यदप्युच्यत इति' अयं ग्रन्थोऽस्मादनन्तरं युक्तरूपो दृश्यते। १७५

२६. तत्कथं शिवसमुदाये कार्यभाजिनि अवयवा न लक्ष्यन्ते। १७५।

२७. अस्मिंस्तु दर्शने पाणिनिना मुखग्रहणं पठितमिति दृश्यते। चूर्णिकारस्तु भागप्रविभागमाश्रित्य प्रत्याचष्टे। १७३।

२८. विवारसंवाराविति। यथा चैते बाह्यास्तथा शिक्षायां विस्तरेण प्रतिपादितम्।

२९. अस्यां शिक्षायां भिन्नस्थानत्वान्नास्ति अवर्णहकारयोः सवर्णसञ्ज्ञेति। १८४।

३०. आचार्येणापि सर्वनामशब्दः शक्तिद्वयं परिगृह्य प्रयुक्तः। यथा–'इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे'[1] इत्यत्र एक एव विष्णुशब्दो अनेकशक्तिः सन् अधिदैवतमध्यात्ममधियज्ञं चात्मनि, नारायणे चषाले च तया शक्त्या प्रवर्तते। एवं च कृत्वा 'वृक्षो मासकृद्' इत्यत्रावग्रहभेदोऽपि भवति। चन्द्रमसि प्रयुक्तो मास [कृत्] शब्दोऽवगृह्यते -वृक्षो मासऽकृदिति[2]। २६८।

३१. इहान्ये वैयाकरणाः पठन्ति — प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोरद्विवचनटापोरुभस्योभयः। अन्येषाम्—उभस्य नित्यं द्विवचनं टाप् च लोपश्चतयपः[3]। तेषां टाविति टाबादयो निर्दिश्यन्ते...... ......। अन्येषामेवं पाठः—अद्विवचनटापृविति। केचित् पुनरेवं पठन्ति—उभस्योभयोऽद्विवचने। उभस्योभयो भवति अद्विवचन इति। २७०।

३२. तत्रैतस्मिन्नग्रे भाष्यकारस्याभिप्रायमेव व्याख्यातारः समर्थयन्ते[4] ....। २८१।

३३. न च तेषु भाष्यसूत्रेषु[5] गुरुलघुयत्नः क्रियते। तथा चा [ह] –नहीदानीमाचार्याः कृत्वा सूत्राणि निवर्तयन्ति इति[6]। भाष्यसूत्राणि हि लक्षणप्रपञ्चाभ्यां समर्थतराणि। २८१, २८२।

३४. इह त्यदादीन्यापिशलैः किमादीन्यस्मत्पर्यन्तानि, ततः पूर्वपराधरेति[7] ....। २८७।

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१. ऋग्वेद १। २२। १६॥

२. तुलना करो —अरुणो मासकृत् (ऋ० १। १०५। १८) ...... मासकृन्मासानां चार्धमासानां च कर्ता भवति चन्द्रमाः। निरुक्त ५। २१॥

३. एवं च भर्तृहरिणा उभयोऽन्यत्रेति वार्तिकमूलभूतम् 'उभस्य द्विवचनं टाप् च लोपश्च यस्य' इति व्याकरणान्तरसूत्रमुदाहृतम्। नागेश– महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत १। १। २७॥

४. बहुवचननिर्देश से स्पष्ट है कि भर्तृहरि से पूर्व महाभाष्य की अनेक व्याख्याएं रची गई थीं।

५. यहां भाष्यसूत्र शब्द से वार्तिकों का ग्रहण है। इस से प्रतीत होता है कि अष्टाध्यायी पर वृत्तियां ही रची गई थीं, भाष्य नहीं। अत एव अष्टाध्यायी का एक नाम 'वृत्तिसूत्र' भी है। वार्तिकों पर वृत्तियां नहीं बनीं, उन पर भाष्य ही लिखे गये।

६. महाभाष्य अ० १, पाद १, अ० १, पृष्ठ १२।

७. तुलना करो— त्यदादीनि पठित्वा गणे कैश्चित् पूर्वादीनि पठितानि कैयट, महाभाष्यप्रदीप १। १। ३४॥

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३५. विग्रहभेदं प्रतिपन्नाः वृत्तिकाराः ।२६५।

३६, अस्मिन् विग्रहे क्रियमाणे सूत्रे यो दोषः स उक्तः । इदानीं वृत्तिकारान्तर मुपन्यस्यति । ३०६ ।

३७. अत एषां व्यावृत्त्यर्थं कुणिनापि तद्धितग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।.......अतो गण-पाठ एव ज्यायानस्यापि वृत्तिकारस्य, इत्येतदनेन प्रतिपादयति ।३०६।

३८. नैव सौनागदर्शनमाश्रीयते ।३१० ।

३९. तस्मादनर्थकमन्तग्रहणं दृश्यते । न्यासे[1] तु प्रयोजनमन्तग्रहणस्योक्तम्-स्वभावैजन्तप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । इह मा भूत्-कुम्भका[रेम्य] इति । ३१४ ।

४०. मा नः समस्य दूढ्य[2] इति एतस्य निरुक्तकारो व्याख्यानं करोति—मा नः सर्वस्य दुर्धियः पापधिय इति[3] । ३२३।

४१. अन्येषां पुनर्लक्षणे "समो युक्ते" समशब्दो युक्तेऽर्थे न्याय्येऽर्थे वर्तते [स] सर्वनामसंज्ञो भवति । इह तु न समशब्दो युक्तार्थे प्रयुक्त इति दोषाभावः । ३२३ ।

४२. सर्वव्याख्यानकारै[4]रिदमवसितम् – मुखस्वरेणैव भवितव्यमुपाग्निमुख इति । अत्र वर्णयन्ति......।३२८।

४३. कथं तदुक्तं भारद्वाजा अस्मात् मतात् प्रच्याव्यते इत्युच्यते । यथानेन स्मृत्वोपनिबद्धं ततः प्रच्याव्यत इति ।३२६।

४४. उभयथा आचार्येण शिष्याः प्रतिपादिताः—केचिद्वाक्यस्य, केचिद्वर्ण-स्येति[5] ।३७२।

४५. श्रुतेरर्थात् पाठाच्च प्रसृतेऽथ मनीषिणः ।
स्थानान्मुख्याच्च धर्माणाम हुः श्रुतिर्वेदक्रमात् ॥

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१. यह पाठ जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि विरचित न्यास अपर नाम काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका में नहीं है । वस्तुतः यह न्यास काशिकान्यास से भिन्न है । भामह ने अपने काव्यालंकार ६।३६ में भी किसी न्यासकार का उल्लेख किया है । भामह स्कन्दस्वामी (सं० ६८७) का पूर्ववर्त्ती है स्कन्दस्वामी के सहयोगी महेश्वर ने निरुक्तटीका १०।६ में भामह के काव्यालंकार (२।१७) का वचन उद्धृत किया है । अनेक विद्वान् भामह और जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि का पौर्वापर्य सम्बन्ध निश्चय करते रहे, वह सब वृथा है । प्राचीन काल में न्यास संज्ञक अनेक ग्रन्थ थे । अतः भामह किस न्यासकार को उद्धृत करता है, यह अज्ञात है ।

२. ऋग्वेद ८।७५।६॥

३. निरुक्त ५।२३॥

४. इससे भी महाभाष्य पर अनेक प्राचीन व्याख्याओं की सूचना मिलाती है ।

५. इससे प्रतीत होता है पाणिनि ने अष्टाध्यायी की वृत्ति भी बनाई थी । इस विषय में अन्य अनेक प्रमाण 'संस्कृत व्याकरण शास्त्र का इतिहास' ग्रन्थ के, अष्टाध्यायी के वृत्तिकार' प्रकरण में लिखें हैं ।

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श्रुतेः क्रममाहुः—हृदयस्याग्रे ऽवद्यति, अथ जिह्वायाः, अथ वक्षसः । अथ शब्दोऽनन्तरार्थस्य द्योतकः श्रूयते । तत्र इदं कृत्वा इदं कर्तव्यमिति । क्रमप्रवृत्तिरर्थक्रमो यदार्थ एवमुच्यते—देवदत्तं भोजय स्नापयानुलेपयोद्वर्तयाभ्यञ्जयेति, अर्थात् क्रमो निम्यते—अभ्यञ्जनमुद्वर्तनं स्नापनमनुलेपनं भोजनमिति । पाठक्रमो नियतानुपूर्विके श्रुतिर्वेदवाक्येष्वनेकार्थोपादाने उद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च सकृदर्थित्वेन व्यवतिष्ठते । यथा स्मृतौ परिमार्जनप्रदाहनेनक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तैजसमात्रिकद्वारवतानामिति ।३७७।

४६. इहास्तेः केचित् सकारमात्रमुपदिश्य पित्सु अडागमं विदधति, केचिदकारलोपमपित्सु वचनेषु । ३८० ।

४७. तत्रेदं दर्शनं पदप्रकृतिः संहितेति[2] । ४११ ।

महाभाष्यदीपिका में प्राचीन भाष्यव्याख्याओं का उल्लेख

महाभाष्यदीपिका में केचित्, अपरे, अन्ये आदि शब्दों से महाभाष्य के अनेक प्राचीन व्याख्याकारों के पाठ उद्धृत हैं। हम यहां उन का संकेत मात्र करते हैं—

केचित्—पृष्ठ ४, ६१, १६७, १७६, १७६, १८६, २०४, २०५, २११, २८०, ३२१, ३३३, ३७४, ४००, ४०४, ४०७, ४२४ ।

केषांचित्—पृष्ठ ३६, १७८, ४२४ ।

अन्ये—पृष्ठ ४, ५७, ७०, १५४, १६०, १६६, १७६, १७६, १८३, १८५, २७६, २८०, ३०८, ३३६, ३७४, ३८६, ३६१, ३६७, ३६६ ।

अन्येषाम्—पृष्ठ ७०, ७६, १६४, १७६, १७८, १८६, १६७, २०५, ३२६, ३६१, ३६८, ४००, ४०४, ४२४ ।

महाभाष्य की प्राचीन टीकाओं में भाष्य के पाठान्तर—पृष्ठ १५, १८, १००, १०४, १६५, १६८, १८१, ४१५, ४१६, ४३० ।

विशिष्ट पदों का व्यवहार

वाक्यकार (= वार्तिककार)—पृष्ठ ६२, ११६, १६२, २८०, ३७८, ४१४ ।

चूर्णिकार (= महाभाष्यकार)—पृष्ठ १७६, १६६, २३६ ।

इह भवन्तस्त्वाहुः[3]—पृष्ठ ६१, १०७, १२५, २६६, २७३ ।

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१. यह आपिशलि का मत है । देखो—काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका १।३।२२, पदमञ्जरी १।३।२२॥

२. निरुक्त १।१७॥ तुलना करो—ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य २।१॥

३. महाभाष्य ३।१।८ में भी 'इह भवन्तस्त्वाहुः' का उद्धरण मिलता है ये 'भवन्तः' कौन हैं यह अज्ञात है । उद्योतकर ने न्यायवार्तिक (४।१।२१) में 'यदा भवन्तः' का निर्देश करके किसी सांख्यशास्त्र का उद्धरण दिया है ।

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मीयातानसेने

MIAN TAN SEN

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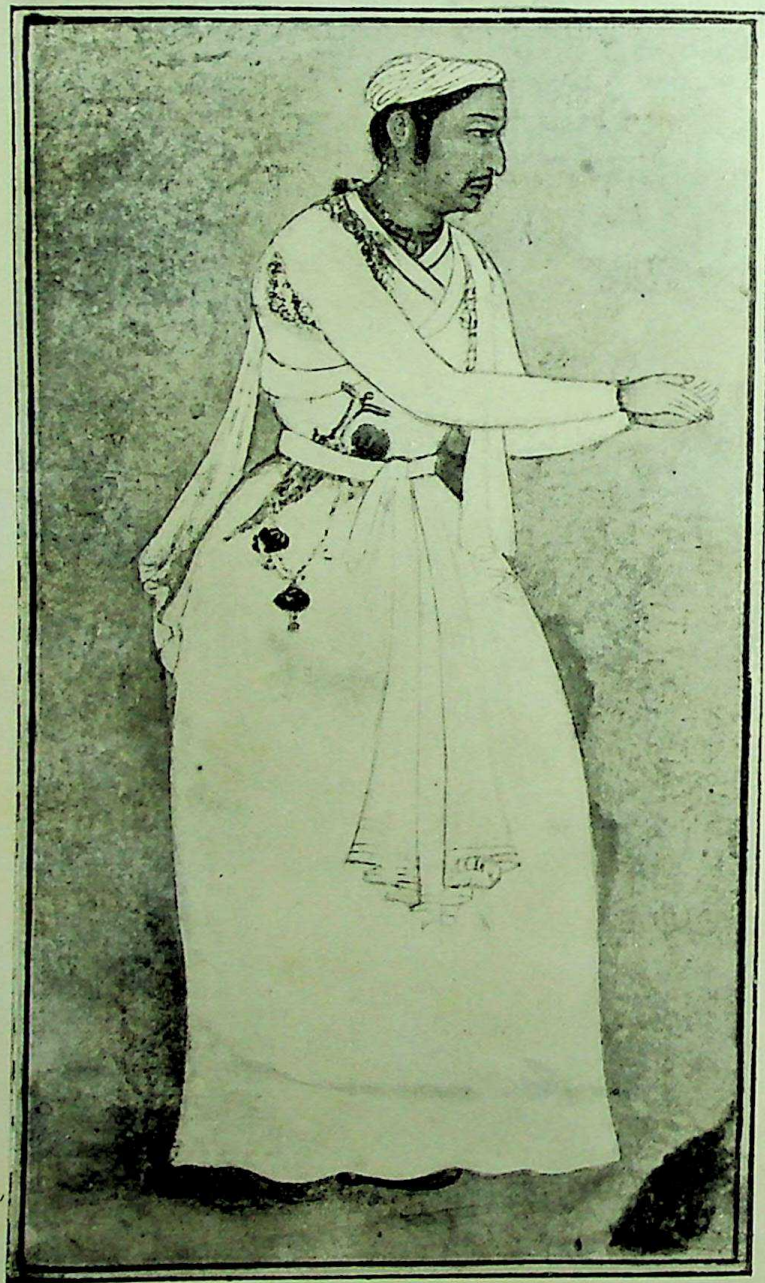
A NOTE ON TĀN SEN.

By B. S. Sitholey

Tān Sen's date of birth is not known. He is stated to have died in 1589, in the 34th year of Akbar's reign; according to another statement, he flourished 1560 1610[1]. Tān Sen's family tree, preserved by his descendants, gives no dates, but the date of one of his later descendants being specifically known, it can be useful in setting approximate limits to the period during which Tān Sen's birth and death must have occured. At any rate it will disclose wether Tān Sen was young or old when he took service with Akbar, and survived or pre-deceased him. The genealogy (the eldest issues only being mentioned here) is as follows. TĀN SEN—Tān Tarang Khān—Suraj Sen—Suphāl Sen—Jhande Sen—Subhāg Sen—Surat Sen—Dayāl Sen—Kripāl Sen—Nihāl Sen—Khyāl Sen—Kripāl Sen—Khushāl Sen—Adbhut Sen—Bāl Sen—Rūp Sen—Nihāl Sen—Lāl Sen—Fāzil Sen—Murād Sen—Sukh Sen—Rahīm Sen—Amrit Sen—Nihāl Sen ..... The last but one, Amrit Sen, was born in Vikrama Samvat 1870 (1813 A. D.). and died, at the age of 80, in Samvat 1950 (1893 A-D.). The authority for this is *Sangit Sudarshana*, a work on Indian Music by Swāmi Sudarshanāchāryā, a Punjabi monk and Sanskrit scholar, who was a pupil of Amrit Sen and was present at his death-bed.

Working backward from 1813, Amrit Sen's birth-date, and allowing a minimum of 15 years between the birth of each generation, we get a period of 330 (15 × 22) years; at this computation Tān Sen should have been born in 1483; and if he died in 1589 or 1610, he must have lived respectively for 106 or 127 years. Were a longer interval allowed between the births, his age would become even greater. It,

1. F. E. Keay: *History of Hindi Literature*, p 36.

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however, seems improbable that he was long lived. Since there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the family tree, there apparently being no motive for making a spurious one, and as the minimum interval has been taken for purposes of calculation, the two alleged dates, 1599 and 1610, of Tān Sen's death require more positive evidence in support before being accepted. It would be much more reasonable to allot Tān Sen a span of life of, say, 80 years, the same as that of Amrit Sen, on the presumption that heredity has some sort of influence on age. On this basis Tān Sen's death may be said to have occured in 1563. It should be clearly understood that all this is mere approximation and subject to variations, which are unlikely to be very wide.

The year 1563, curiously, is one in which Akbar, in the seventh year of his reign, is stated to have sent for Tān Sen. If this be correct, than Tān Sen could hardly have been with Akbar for more than a few months. This obviously is untenable, and would indicate that Akbar called him earlier, perhaps not much later than 1556, when he ascenced the throne. According to *Maīsar-ul-Umrī* (Vol. I), Tān Sen was sent for in the fifth year of Akbar's reign. From 1563 to 1589 or 1610 there is an interval of 26 or 47 years, which cannot be reconciled with Abul Fazl's statement that "as the fame of Tān Sen, who was the foremost of the age among the Kalāwants of Gwalior, came to the royal hearing, and as it was reported that he meditated going into retirement and that he was spending his days in attendance on Rām Chand, the Rājā of Pannā (?Rewā), His Majesty ordered that he should be enlisted among the court musicians"[2]. Now as a professional usually does not think of retirement until well advanced in years and unable any longer to carry on effectively, if Tān Sen died in 1589 or 1610, it would be inconcievable that he thought of

2. Abul Fazl: *Akbar Namā* (Beveridge's translation), Vol. II.

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retiring about 1563. Abul Fazl also says that Tān Sen "was cherished by a long service and association with His Majesty"[3]. How he reconciles this with his first statement is not clear. The first statement becomes consistent when the approximate date calculated from the genealogy is taken into consideration. Akbar's sending for Tān Sen soon after ascending the throne could be explained on the ground that, being young and a powerful monarch, he was perhaps impulsive and could not tolerate an ordinary Rājā keeping an eminent musician with him; in fact, it is stated that he virtually demanded Tān Sen's surrender, though in the stately and diplomatic language of Abul Fazl "the Rājā received the royal message and recognized the sending of the envoy as an honour"[4]. On the foregoing considerations, 1483-1563, with some elasticity either way, would seem to be a more likely frame work for Tān Sen's age. In any case, it becomes apparent that Tān Sen was old and Akbar very young (he ascended the throne at the age of 14) when the two came into touch with each other.

Tān Sen's father was Makaranda Pāṇḍe, a Gauḍ Brāhman of Gwālior. It is said that as his issues did not survive he handed over Tān Sen as a child to a local Muhammadan saint, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. This person, whose real name was Hāmid-ud-din and who styled himself as *Ghaus-ul-'Alam*, after living for twelve years in the jungle at the foot of the Chunār Hills, migrated to Gwālior and acquired a reputation for the fulfilment of his blessings and predictions. It is against human nature to part with one's only child; but if Tān Sen had to be handed over it stands to reason that an orthodox Brāhman would prefer a man of his own community to adopt the child after the saint's blessings for its survival had been obtained. The purpose of having a son is to ensure continuity of the

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

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family line, a purpose that is defeated if the son is adopted by another, particularly if the latter is of a different religious persuasion. Moreover, no affection could be expected from, or pride taken in, a son virtually cast out. Such consideration weigh even with the most ordinary people, and it is only in the extremity of distress, such as sheer starvation, that a child is passed on to another to save its life. The story, which lacks even the slightest measure of plausibility, can hardly be credited.

Muhammad Ghaus is supposed to have converted Tān Sen and also instructed him in music, and the fact is stressed that the latter is buried very close to the tomb of the former. Muhammad Ghaus was a Sufī and the author of two works, *Jawāhar-ul-Khamsā* and *Gulzār-i-Abrār*. Neither he nor others make any mention of his possessing a knowledge of music. It is significant that Tān Sen, who wrote *Saṅgīt Sār* and *Rāga Mālā* and composed songs in honour of Rājā Rām Chandra, Swāmi Haridāsa of Brindāban, and Emperor Akbar, has not a word to say about him The proximity of Tān Sen's grave to the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus proves nothing. Born in Gwālior, Tān Sen either returned home to die, or his dead body was taken there (Gwālior is only 70 miles from Agra where Akbar lived) and buried in the common Muhammadan burial ground of the town, nearness being perhaps due to unavailability of any other space at the moment, or it may be that it was thought appropriate to bury one eminent man close to another. Tān Sen's connection with Muhammad Ghaus would appear to be purely fictitions; the various legeneds current of association between the two derive colour from the alleged conversion of Tān Sen to Islam.

The probability is that Tan Sen, having an inborn talent for music and possessing a good voice, practised singing while living with his parents and, as his practice deve-

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loped, aspired to enter into the exclusive circle of noted singers of the town who carried on the tradition of the Dhrupad school of music founded by Rājā Mān Singh Tomār (1486-1518) of Gwālior. He must have failed in this and, consequently, sought Swāmi Haridāsa, a yogi and mystic of Brindāban. The Swami's reputation for music was very high, and from him, it would seem, Tān Sen received his final coaching. The historian Badāuni states [5] that, like Sultān Bāz Bahādur, Tān Sen also received instructions in music from Muhammad Shah Ādil, the last of the Sūr kings. This may be possible but seems unlikely, for no other reason than that it was difficult for an unknown person to approach a king and persuade him to undertake his tuition. However, Tān Sen got employment at the court of Rājā Rām Chandra of Rewā, and it was from there that he went to Agra and was enlisted among Akbar's imperial musicians.

Tān Sen is not a name but a title. "*Tān*" is a series of musical notes made to intervene between the various phrases of a song, the purpose being to reduce too frequent repitition of words, as well as to heighten by contrast the effect of the Rāga in which the song is sung. *Tāns* are more difficult to achieve than the musical utterance of song words, and a mastery of them is requisite for full proficiency in music. "*Sen*" means lord or master: so that Tān Sen is one who possesss complete mastery over *tāns*; in other words, a musician of eminence. This title was apparently conferred on Tān Sen by Rājā Rām Chandra and became so popular as even to obliterate the name. Tān Sen's name was Vaṇāyo Vyās Pāṇde.

The Sen's eldest son bore the fanciful name Tān Tarang, 'Khān' being added to it later on Tān Sen's adopting Muhammadan practices. The three younger sons were named respectively Surat Sen, Bilās Khān and Nichoḍ

5. Abdul Qādir Badāunī: *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh*.

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Sen. In fact, the whole genealogy shows Hindu names, excepting three or four half-Muhammadan ones, an indication that Tān Sen was not actually converted according to the Islamic rites, for otherwise his and his descendents' names would have been purely Muhammadan. Swāmi Sudarshanāchārya mentions that Amrit Sen, his family and relations, inspite of professing Muhammadanism, used to worship Saraswatī and Lakshmī and that during marriages the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom were cast and tallied, and all the ritual of the actual marriage ceremony was entirely Hindu, the women of the house making it a point to wear *saris* for the occasion. Tān Sen never had a Muhommadan name, but he assumed or was given the titular prefixes 'Miyān' and 'Mirzā'.

Akbar does not appear to have been a connoisseur of music despite Abul Fazl's fulsome praise that "the knowledge which His Majesty has of the niceties of music, as of other sciences, is, whether of the melodies of Persia, or the various songs of India, both as regards theory and execution, unique for all time,"[6] Two of the greatest musicians of India of the late mediaeval period, Nāyak Jarju and Sultān Bāz Bahādur of Mālwā, were contemporaries of Tān Sen. Both were Nāyak, the highest title a musician can attain. Such titles were not bestowed by royalty but collectively given by all diverse school of music, which, after fully satisfying themselves by practical demonstration as to a musician's attainments, elevated him to an honoured rank. The titles were akin to the modern doctorates and were awarded only for intrinsic ability and actual achievement. *Paṇdit*, *Gunī*, *Gandharva* and *Nāyak* were the titles in the ascending order; and India has had hitherto only eight Nāyaks, six of them being Hindus and two Muhammadans. Akbar had the opportunity of hearing Bāz Bahādur who came to his court; and if after that he inspired Abul Fazl to write of Tān Sen that "a singer like him has not been in India for

6. Abul Fazl. *loc. cit.*

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the last thousand years" (درین هزار سال مثل اونشان ندهند)[7], it can only show his ignorance of superior music. A Muhammadan writer observes:

ایسے علم و فن امیر پسند هیں جب کوئی شخص اپنے شوق اور محنت اور مناسبت طبیعت سے کمال حاصل کرلے تو اُسکی شهرت یا تکمیل صرف قدردانی اُمرا و حضور رسی هی هوتی هے۔[8]

(Such sciences and arts [i. e. music] depend on the approval and patronage of the aristocracy. When any person, by his zest, endeavour, and correspondence in taste, developes some talent, then its advertisement among, and appreciation by, others can only be possible by approaching and seeking the favour of those in power.) There is no doubt that but for the certificate given by Akbar we should have heard little of Tān Sen.

According to Abul Fazl, "great developments were made by him (Tān Sen) in music,[9] Vincent Smith remarks: "Conservative Hindu musicians take a different view and accuse him of having falsified the traditional *rāgas*, two of which, Hindol and Megh, have disappeared since his time. Such critics hold that the influence of Tān Sen was deleterious to the musical science of India. It would seem possible that he may have violated the ancient Hindu canons and sought to modernize his art by making changes to suit Muslim taste."[10] There are divergences in some of the *rāgas* as given in the old *granthas* and as sung by musicians of the Tān Sen school, but perhaps Tān Sen did not deliberately falsify them; the apparent falsification is due to Tān Sen's attempt to impart a glitter to the *rāga* in disregard of its psychology, a sort of showmanship rather than an exposition of the intrinsic nature of the *rāga*. In Rāga Bhairavī, for instance, clever singers sometimes judiciously

7. Abul Fazl. *loc. cit.*
8. Muhammad Mirdān Ali Khān: *Ghuncha i-Rāga*
9. Abul Fazl. *lyc. cit.*
10. Vincent A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 61-62.

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Decline of spiritual & emotional aspect of the ragas at the time of Akbar

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introduce unauthorized notes for variety; but they can do so with impunity provided they sing the *rāga* largely in accordance with its structure and do not assert that, instead of all the flat notes which it uses, it employs both flat and sharp notes. The latter claim, so far as the writer is aware, has never been made by Tān Sen's school; on the contarary, they recognize ancient authority, declaring, however, that whatever they sing is after the style of Tān Sen, It is therefore an idiosyncrasy rather than a premeditated and calculated defiance of authority. The result, however, has been undesirable. The Tān Sen School, comprising almost exclusively professionals, has been to the fore because of the patronage it has been able to secure, so that other schools fell into desuetude in the face of the showy and the sensuously attractive. The emotional and spiritual content of the *rāgas* has thus suffered a loss; but this is confined only to Northern India.

The Rāgas *Hindol* and *Megh* are said to have disappeared since Tān Sen's time. To these may be added the Rāga *Dīpak*. But, as a matter of fact, nothing has disappeared. The *rāgas* are there: their notes and the mode of singing are known, having already been codified; they are not sung simply because they are difficult. For the same reason many other *rāgas* are not practised. Now that there is a revival, *rāgas* which nobody heared before are being brought forward by musicians. Tān Sen forbade Rāga *Dīpak* perhaps because he himself could not manage it well. This is understandable since everybody is good at something particular and not so at others. Tān Sen excelled in Rāga *Kaṇhṛā*, and suppressed Rāga *Dīpak* by a fantastic story which only the unthinking and the professionals believe. An examination of the *rāgas* discloses that Tān Sen by-passed whatever was difficult and concentrated on creating effects by embellishing the ordinary whether by combinations or changes here and there. His Darbārī *Kāṇhṛā* is a compound of *Kāṇhṛā*, *Kalyān*, and *Malhār*.

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These, as pure *rāgas*, are difficult (their varieties being less so), and it is precisely the difficult parts that have been left out and a combination made which, while retaining some of the grandeur of the originals, puts the psychology into pieces. The emotions evoked by *Kāṇhṛā*, *Kalyān*, and *Malhār* are different, but in Darbārī they are all lumped together irrespective of their values. We thus get only a superficial effect, pleasing and even impressive to a degree but the individuality characteristic of a *rāga* is lacking. Tān Sen has produced a variety each of the Rāgas *Toḍi*, *Malhār*, and *Sāraṅg*, and by combining the Rāgas *Devagandhāra* not *Jogiā* and *Āsāvarī* created *Jogiā Āsāvarī*. The achievement was more technical than creative. There are hundreds of *tālas* (time measures) in Indian music. Tān Sen reduced them to only 72 for his school. The Tān Sen school represents only an innovation; it is not the originator of a system.

So many fantastically absurd stories have gathered round Tān Sen that from a historical person he has passed into a legend. Just as if one gushed about the Tāj one will not be telling quite the truth and if one seriously pointed out its architectural defects, along with all the edifying features, one will not be believed; similarly, it has become a convention to gush about Tān Sen, forgetting that, excepting some people of his time, nobody has heard him, and that the praise given with the assurance of personal experience is, after all, based on nothing more substantial than mere heatsay. Scientifiic criticism of his work, as reflected in his creations, is however possible. We can see that he was a musician of exceptional talents, and could certainly have emerged a greater man but for the misdirection of his endeavors towards rather cheap ends. And by becoming entangled in the vices of the court he effectively smothered the spark of genius in him. The exaggerated encomiums with which popular anecdotal writers fill their pages ***ad nauseum*** really do Tān Sen an injustice. In popular

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imagination he was something of a super man. That, judged from his work, he assuredly was not. But as an intelligent man he was able to achieve a good deal, and it is precisely for this that he deserves high commendation. Not quite meriting it, greatness has really been thrust upon him. Indian culture is, however, not so poor as to feel the necessity of putting every talented person on a high pedestal; a practice that has become, in modern times, common in all countries. In fact, it is a part of the great culture of India that the majority of its geniuses are unnamed. Tān Sen did not create any pure *rāgas*. And as there are scores of such *rāgas*, and they must have been created by somebody or other, it is evident that their creators were greater musicians than Tān Sen. Tān Sen has acquired such a hold on the imagination of the public and is held in so much veneration, that outwardly it would seem almost a cultural disservice to assign him his true place in the domain of music. But in the interests of truth and culture his name requires to be rescued from that species of panegyric which leaves the impression that Indian music has hardly anything to show but improbable stories and hysterical laudations. We must soberly realise that the eight Nayaks[11] referred to above, who were giants in music, cannot be ignored. Compared to them, Tān Sen held only the rank of *Gunī*.

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11. These were: (1) Baiju (fl. 1486-1516); (2) Rājā Mān Singh Tomār of Gwālior, the inventor of the Dhrupad style, died 1518; (3) Gopāl (contemporary of Amir Khusru, who died in 1325); (4) Bakshu (was at the court of Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt from 1526-1536); (5) Bhagavān (period unknown); (6) Jarju (contemporary of Emperor Akbar), (7) Sultān Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur, died 1499; (8) Bāz Bahādur of Mālwā (contemporary of Akbar).

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CHARACTER OF "*BAI SOOLTANEE*" SALES IN OUDH

By

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

Reader in History, University of Lucknow.

One of the curious problems that the British administration had to face in Oudh after its annexation was the recognition of the legality or otherwise of the various seals or signs in force during the previous regime in the case of transfers made under sale by royal order (known in official parlance as '*Bai Sooltanee*'). The royal seals over sale deeds of previous reigns were of different forms, and it seemed rather difficult to form any opinion regarding the genuineness of some of them, or to detect frauds, if any.

The District records of Lucknow contain an interesting bundle of papers and files, dated 1866, whence it appears that the Financial Commissioner of Oudh instituted a regular historical investigation into the character of the old seals and signs used under '*Bai Sooltanee*'. (Circular, No. 6, of 16th March, 1866, etc.). The Commissioners of three divisions of Oudh made extensive researches on the subject, the results whereof are summarised below from the reports submitted by eight District Officers in accordance with the instructions of Circular No. 133/2015.

The District officer of Rai Bareilly (Capt. MacAndrew) reported that the seals and signs of the different State Departments were only added in the middle of Nasiruddin Haider's time, and Saadat Ali and Ghaziuddin used to issue their own deeds without Departmental countersigns, but that deeds were not invalid by reason of absence of any particular seal or sign. The District Officer of Sultanpur (Major Perkins) based his reply on one deed of Wajid Ali's time, which bore all the forms of that reign. The District Officer

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of Sitapur (Mr. Wood), however, found that the seals of different Departments were always affixed, and in Ghaziuddin Haidar's reign also such seals were necessary to validity. The evidence obtained by certain other District Officers was conflicting, and one Officer reported that there was no enforcement of any given procedure, and so the absence of particular seals could not invalidate a deed. The District Officer of Daryabad maintained that much seals were not used from Saadat Ali's time till Nasiruddin's reign. The District Officer of Faizabad was of the opinion that not such faith could be placed on the reports received as to the asserted practice of different rulers.

The preponderance of opinion was in favour of the following positions.

1. That it was in the reign of Nasiruddin Haider that Departmental Countersigns were introduced, and so the deeds of a date prior to that were not invalid from their absence.

2. That in subsequent reigns changes in the Countersigns were introduced.

3. Even in those reigns where certain Countersigns were adhered to, the absence of one or more of them would not necessarily invalidate the document; because, although certain parties were authorised to sign, it was not actually laid down that their signatures were indispensable.

The report of Mr. Harington, Assistant Settlement Officer, is highly informative. The following facts may be cited from it: —

1. It was only in the time of Ghaziuddin Haidar's successor, Nasiruddin Haidar, that it became usual to endorse *Bai Sooltanees*, regularly on the reverse. Previously, it was usual to affiix the seal of the Nawab Wazir on the top, and the mark of the *Munshikhana* and date of the *Darulinsha* at the bottom. The only endorsement on the reverse was the words "*naql giriftah shud*".

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2. From the time of Nasiruddin Haidar an additional endorsement was "*ba daftar-t-Dīwānī ṭursil yīft*". In the *Daftar-i-Dīwānī* the record was attested with the words "*Mulāhizah shud mukarrirahzimn*". Then the deed was sent to the office of the Wazir who affixed his seal under his order for execution, '*Jāree nomayund*". It was then sent to the office of the *Naib,* where it was attested by the mark, a *Mim*, under the date of the transaction.

3. The place for the seal of the Wazir was on the right hand of, and parallel to the attestation of the *Dīwānī Daftar* while the attestation of the Wazir's office was placed on the left hand of, and parallel to the original endorsement of the Royal Daftar.

4. From the office of the Wazir it was returned to the *Daftar Dīwānī,* and then, and apparently not till then, were affixed the attesting marks of that office. These consisted of the date and the words "*naql ba daftar Dīwānī russeed*". underneath which was placed a "*Dāl*" mark and the Dīwānī seal. In the time of Wajid Ali Shah the seal of Mushahib Uddaulah was affixed on the left hand of, and parallel to the marks of the Wazir's *Munshikhana*. During the reign of Nasiruddin Haidar, however, it seems to have been usual for Raja Jialal to have affixed his marks—two "*Jeems*"—at the upper right hand corner of the back of the deed.

A perusal of the records, however, indicates that critical comparision of diffierent documents was beyond tha power of the Europeon Officers ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with Persian nomenclature. That is why the English authorities could arrive at no decision on this matter.

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Proceeding of the Annual Meeting of the United Provinces Historical Society, held on Tuesday, 3rd. February, 1948, at 11-0 A. M. at the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Present :

1. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D.,F.R.A.S.B., *In the Chair,*
2. Mr. N. P. Joshi, M. A., Offg. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Do

3. Mr. R. C. Manchandia, B. A., LL. B. Advocate, Jehangirabad Palace, Lucknow.
4. Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt. Lucknow University.
5. Shri Prayag Dayal. *Hony. Secretary.*

1. The Society places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the sad demise, under most tragic circumstances, of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, who has been acknowledged all over the world as the greatest man of the age for his self-sacrificing labours for the cause of peace and brotherhood in India and for mankind.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution of condolence be sent to his son, Shri Devadasa Gandhi, at New Delhi. The resolution was passed by members standing in silence for one minute.

2. *Read* and *approved* the Secretary's report on the Working of the Society for the year 1947.

3. The following programme of work for the year 1948 was approved.

a) Systematic Survey of ancient Buddhist sites in the United Provinces and preparation of Historical monographs on them.

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(*b*) Revision of historical portion of District Gazetteers with a view to compile a standard history of the United Provinces.

(*c*) Exploration of ancient sites in the districts of Mathura, Farrukhabad, Gonda, Banaras and Gorakhpur.

(*d*) Examination of pre-mutiny records in the kutcheries at :

Lucknow—Dr. N. L. Chatterji & Mr. R. N. Nagar.
Banaras—Dr. P. Saran.
Allahabad—Dr. Banarsi Prasad.

(*e*) Study of historical records, preserved in the record room of the United Provinces Secretariat for which the services of Dr. N. L. Chatterji have been secured by the Society. Permission to be obtained from the Chief Secretary to Govt., U. P.

(*f*) Arrangement of Lectures in various Universities and cities of the U. P. as far as possible.

(*g*) Search for old manuscripts bearing on the ancient history of U. P. through Mr. M. M. Nagar.

(*h*) Publication of Special Memoirs.

(*i*) Publication of the Journal of the Society.

4. The accounts for 1947 were *passed*. The budget estimate for the year 1948, which shows a small deficit, was also *passed*.

5. The detailed account of the Memoir on the "Economic History of India" by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji published by the Society, was *passed*. A copy of the account will be sent to the author of the memoir for necessary adjustments.

6. The undermentioned gentlemen were elected as Office-bearers

President

Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanand Ji,
Minister of Education, U.P.

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Vice--President

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D.

Hony Secretary

Shri Prayag Dayal Ji.

Hony-Treasurer

Mr. M.M. Nagar, M.A., U.P.E.S.

Editorial Board

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D.
Dr. V.S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt.
Dr. N.L. Chatterji., M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

7. *Resolved* that in future the Journal should also contain some articles of approved standard in Hindi.

8. *Resolved* that on account of the increased printing charges of the Journal and the new activities proposed to be undertaken this year, Government be requested to sanction a recurring grant of Rs. 3 000/- with effect from 1948-49.

9. The Society places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the passing away of Sir Richard Burn, Kt. one of our Honorary Members to whom the Society is most indedted for all he had done in promoting the work of the Society for years.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to his bereaved family.

10. The Society places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, one of our Honorary Members, which has inflicted a severe blow on the cause of Indological scholarship, particularly in the fields of India art, culture and history.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to his wife C/O Boston Museum, Boston, U. S. A.

11. The Society elects as its delegate (1) Dr.Nand lal Chatterji to the Indian History Congress for 1948, and (2)

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Shri Prayag Dayal to the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for 1948.

12. The meeting came to a close with a vote of thanks to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji for kindly coming down to Lucknow to preside over the function.

Prayag Dayal	R. K. Mookerji
Hony Secretary,	President,
U. P. Historical Society.	U. P. Historical Society.

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Annual Report on working of the United Provinces Historical Society for the year 1947.

The abnormal conditions brought about by the second World War had their repurcussions on the activities and resources of the Society and necessitated the temporary abandonment or postponement of a major portion of the programme chalked out for the year. The programme is being repeated and renewed efforts will be made to run through as much as possible under the circumstances. It is, however, a great satisfaction that the Society was able to continue its Journal, under the able editorship of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Volume XX which combines parts I and II and covers about 200 pages came out during the year. The delay is compensated by the nice get up and valuable original contributions which maintain its high standard. I feel tempted to commend some of them for your perusal. Dr. Ameder Maiuri's article deals with an Ivory Statuette which is unique and precious object of Indian art in the history of dicoveries of mediterranean civilisation. Dr V. S. Agrawala, as usual, follows with three Papers of absorbing interest from his erudite pen. Dr. P. Saran's new approach on Socio-Religious Background at the advent of Akbar furnishes an interesting piece of research work in accordance with the latest views on re-interpreting Indian history. The sculptures and monuments noticed by Dr. Barua, Messrs. Nagar, Misra and Dr. Banerji afford invaluable material for students of ancient history for assessment of their artistic importance danin and interpritation cuterpretation on scientific lines.

2. Dr. Moti Chandra's Memoir on Geographical and Economic studies in the Mahābhārata: Upayana Parva was published last year and copies are available for sale at Ri. 5/- each. His second memoir on "The Tachnique of Mughal Painting" the printing of which was in abeyance at Shri Bhartee Press of Calcutta has now been resumed

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and is to come out soon· This will be a publication of outstanding merit throwing new light on a very technical branch of Indian cultural history.

3. The work of exploration and excavation of ancient sites in the districts of Mathura, Farrukhabad, Gonda, Banaras and Gorakhpur, which was entrusted to Mr. Nagar, the Honorary Treasurer of the Society could not be taken up as he was busy with work of Museums Reorganisation Committee as its Secretary and could not go out.

4. Dr. Nand Lal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., who is on our Editorial Board was appointed to represent the Society at the Sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commissions for five years with effect from 1947.

5. The Society approached the Government for a recurring grant of Rs. 10,000/- to meet increased printing charges and to fulfil new programme of activities mapped out for the future, but unfortunately the request was turned down by Government. The financial position of the Society is not quite satisfactory. The Budget shows some deficit on account of increased prices of paper and printing charges etc. It is hoped that in this year the Government will be pleased to consider our application for a grant more favourably.

6. The Society made a representation to the Income Tax Officer for exemption from income tax on the interest derived from Government Loans on the ground of its being a public institution of education and research activities. The request was favourably met by the Income-tax Officer and the Society has now been exempted from paying income-tax on its income from the interest on Government Securities and loans etc.

7. On account of their outstanding position in the field of sholarship and their services to the Society the following sholars were appointed Honorary Members of the Society:—

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1. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

2. Sir Richard Burn, Kt.

3. Dr. Panna Lall, M. A., D. Litt., C. S. I., I. C. S., (retd). But unfortunately it has pleased providence to snatch away Dr. Coomaraswamy and Sir Richard Burn from our midst before the year was out. Their death is a great loss to Indology and to the Society in particular.

Lucknow
January 29, 1948.

Prayag Dayal
Honorary Secretary,
U. P. Historical Society.

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U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1947.

INCOME

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance in Allahabad Bank Current a/c	3,970	8	8
Balance in Allahabad Bank Savings Bank a/c	1,155	11	8
Cash with Hony. Treasurer	52	14	6
Recurring grant from Government	1,500	0	0
Subscriptions	96	0	0
Sale proceeds of Journals	96	15	0
Sale proceeds of Memoirs Dr, Kamal's Economic History	554	4	0
Sale prooeeds of Dr. Moti Chandra's Memoir on Geog. Studies in Mahābhārata	5	0	0
Interest on 4½% Loan 1955-60 for Rs. 5,700/	87	14	0
Interest on 4% Loan 1960-70 for Rs. 3,000/	40	14	0
Interest on 3% Loan 1966-68 for Rs. 3,500/-	71	6	0
Interest on Savings Bank	11	8	0
Total Rs.	7,642	15	10

EXPENDITURE

	Rs.	a.	p.
Printing Dr. Moti Chandra's Memoir Geog. Studies in Mahabharata	554	0	0
Printing U. P. Historical Journal for 1945. Panna Lal Special Number (part-payment)	2,000	0	0
Printing blocks & plates of U.p. Hist. Journal for 1946.	281	10	0
Miscellaneous charges	101	9	0
Postage	120	0	0
Stationery	7	6	0
Remuneration to office clerk	360	0	0
Editorial expenses	150	0	0
Bank Commission & Incidental charges	6	6	6
Balance in Allahabad Bank (Current)	2,887	13	2
Balance in Allahabad Bank (Savings Bank)	1,167	3	8
Cash with Treasurer	6	15	6
Total Rs.	7,642	15	10

Lucknow

January 5. 1948.

M. M. NAGAR

Honorary Treasuaer

U. P. Historical Society

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U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROVISIONAL ESTIMATE FOR THE YEAR 1948.

INCOME

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance in Allahabad Bank Current account	2,887	13	2
Balance in Allahabad Bank (Savings Bank)	1,167	3	8
Cash with Hony. Treasurer	6	15	6
Recurring grant from Govt.	1,500	0	0
Subscriptions & sale of journals	700	0	0
Sale proceeds of Dr. Kamal's Economic History	125	0	0
Sale proceeds of Dr. Moti Chandra's Geog. Studies in Mahabharat	250	0	0
Interest on 4½% Loan 1955-60 for Rs. 5,700/-	117	12	0
Interest on 4% Loan 960-70 for Rs. 3,000/-	82	11	0
Interest on 3% Loan 1966-68 for Rs. 3500/-	71	7	0
Interest on Savings Bank	15	0	0
Total, Rs.	6,983	14	4

EXPENDITURE

	Rs.	a.	p.
Printing Dr. Kamal's Economic History	874	8	0
Printing Journal for 1945 (full settlement)	868	0	6
Printing Journal for 1946	1,340	0	3
Printing Journals for 1947 & 48	3.500	0	0
Postage	175	0	0
Stationery	60	0	0
Remuneration to Society's clerk	420	0	0
Remuneration to Society's peon	48	0	0
Editorial Expenses	200	0	0
Miscellaneous	100	0	0
Total Rs.	7585	8	9
Deficit Rs.	601	10	5
	6,983	14	4

Lucknow

January 5, 1948

M. M. Nagar

Honorary Treasurer

U. P. Historical Society

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REVIEWS.

JAYADĀMAN

Edited by Dr. H. D. Velankar; Published by Haritosh Samiti, Bombay.

Dr. Velankar who is now the leading authority on Sanskrit and Prakrit metres in the country has laid all students of the subject under deep debt by critically editing the following four texts.

1. *Jayadeva Chhandas* of Jayadeva, who must have lived sometime before 900 A. D. and perhaps even earlier. He was very likely a Jain author, but the first three chapters of his work are devoted to Vedic metres. According to the author, Jayadeva adopted Piṅgala's work on Chhandas as his model and he wrote at the time of transition when the classical Sanskrit metres were being gradually used, defined and developed. The work is printed for the first time with a commentary by Harshala, who seems to have been a Kashmerian author and is based on a very old manuscript from the Jaisalmer Bhandar dated in 1134 A. D. The recovery of this manuscript is due to Muni Jinavijaya Ji, whose work in reclaiming old works is now of national celebrity.

2. The second text also printed here for the first time from the same manuscript is the *Chhandonuśāsana* of Jayakīrti, a Digambara Jain from Karnatak, who lived about 1000 A. D. The work is in eight chapters and has been printed as found without a commentary. He does not treat of the Vedic metres as they no longer had a hold on the minds of the people in his days. The author had devoted a chapter to metres of the Kannaḍ language (*Karṇāṭa-vishaya-bhāshā-jātyadhikāra*).

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3. The third work is the *Vṛittaratnākara* of Kedāra in six chapters written sometime before 1100 A. D. Kedāra's work is strong in the treatment of the Varṇavṛittas and the *Vṛitta-ratnākara* proved one of the most popular treatises on Sanskrit literature being followed by a large number of commentators, the earliest of whom Parivikrama wrote in the 11th century.

4. The last work is the *Chhandonuśāsana* of Hemachandra, of which the text of all the eight chapters has been critically edited. On the first three chapters a very short commentary has been inserted in the footnote, but attention should be invited to the very valuable edition of Chapters IV-VII of this work published by Dr. Velankar with Hemachandra's own commentary and an Avachūri on the Apabhraṁśa metres in the Journal of the B. B., R. A. S. (1943-44).

5. The fifth chapter of this book constitutes a lasting contribution of Dr. Velankar to Sanskrit prosody. It is an alphabetical list (to which he has given the name of Vṛitta-Kusumochchaya) of about 850 metres beginning with Piṅgala and ending with Hemachandra, of which over 600 are the Varṇa Vṛittas with each of the four lines on an identical pattern *(Sama chatushpadī)*. The list is distributed over 30 heads which contain a particular number of letters edited under that head. The smallest number is one and the largest that of forty-five letters in each of the four lines. The greatest number of metres, viz. 55 are those with twelve letters in each line. The metres that have between six and sixteen letters in a line have a larger number of varieties when compared with those that have less than six or more than sixteen letters to a line. In preparing his list Dr. Velankar has collected his material from ten leading old treatises on Sanskrit metres. From his critical analysis of the use of metres by Sanskrit poets, Dr. Velankar has found that out of the 600 Varṇa-vṛittas only about 100 seem to have been used by the Sanskrit poets, and even

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out of this 100 hardly more than 25 were employed with any frequency, e. g. for the composition of a whole *sarga* in a Kāvya, while the rest 75 were used only for a change or ornamentation at the end of the *sargas*. The Anushṭubh the Upajāti and to a certain extent also the Vaṁśastha were the commonest amogst the Mahākavis. These three along with the Vasantatilakā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita were common among the poets of Khaṇḍa Kāvyas and Champūs, while the dramatists showed preference for longer metres like Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā and others in addition to Upajāti, Vaṁśastha and Vasantatilakā. This analysis of the author is illuminating. He is right in observing that "the Anushṭubh though easiest to handle for composition in the dramas, is yet most elusive and unyielding, except to a great and really skilful artist in the point of effectiveness. Its small compass and want of elaborate Varṇasangīta usually prevent a lesser artist from making it pregnant, elegant and agreeable to the ear." This remark is borne out in the perfect handling of the Anushṭubh by Kālidāsa who has succeeded in imparting a statuesque dignity to this metre.

V. S. Agrawala

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JAIN MONUMENTS AND PLACES OF FIRST CLASS IMPORTANCE

by T. N. Rama chandran

Being the presidential Address during the All-India Jain Sasana Conference (1944) held at Calcutta on the 2500th anniversary of the preaching of Mahavira.

The present survey by a mature writer of reputed authority in seventy pages and forty-five well-produced plates, covers the Jain monuments both in south and north India. Its most useful part consists in the description and illustration of the history of Jainism in South India as depicted in its monuments. The opening remark that the history of Jainism in the south "is the history of the practical attempt to Aryanise the Dravidian races" is a new perspective from which the value and volume of the contribution of Jainism to the art and literature of South India can be better understood. The extent of Jain influence in South India on its earliest literary history and religion as evidenced by the Jain authorship of the Tamil classics like the Kural, Maṇimekalai and Śilappādikāram was very considerable and deserves to be properly evaluated in the light of the existing Jain monuments. The Kadamba kings of Banavāsī in Karnataka during the fifth or sixth century and the western Chalukyas of Aiholi were patrons of Jainism, being eclectically disposed. The Jain poet Ravikīrtti patronised by Pulakeśin II (609-642) dedicated a stone temple to Jinendra at Aiholi. In the Tamil country

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the great Pallava king Mahendravarman I (606-30) of Kāñchī under whose inspiration the beautiful paintings in the cave temples of Sittanavāsal, came into existence was a Jain. The author has deservedly devoted five plates to reproduce some of the best Sittanavāsal paintings including the well-known lotus tank and the dancing *apsaras*. The author's account of the temples of Tiruparuttikunaram which is identified with Jain Kanchi, is interesting, special of the series of coloured paintings illustrating the life stories of three out of the twentyfour Tīrathaṅkaras on the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa and the Saṅgītamaṇḍapa in the Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna temple there.

The book published by Sri Chhote Lal Jain, Honorary Secretary, Vir Sasan Sangha, 82, Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta, it is a pity, was not intended to be released for sale.

V. S. Agrawala.

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Kāilas-Mānasarover, by Swami Pranavananda, F.R.G.S. Publisher: S. P. League, Ltd., Çalcutta, 1949. Pp. XXIII, 1—242; 142 illustrations and 10 maps. Rs. 12/8/-

Kailāsa and Mānasarover are familier names in India to every one from childhood. The thought of visiting them hovers in our mind, though few could hope to reach them. 'And so,' as Pandit Jawahar Lal has observed in his neat foreword, 'I welcome this book which tells us so much about these mountains that I have loved and this Lake that I have dreamt about'.

The author, well-known by his earlier works *Explorations in Tibet* and *Kailāsa-Mānasarovara* (Hindi), is an annual pilgrim to Kailas and in this well-produced volume has presented a first rate scientific hand-book to the Kailas-Mānas region of the Himalayas, packed with detailed information about the routes, topography and other matters helpful for pilgrims and tourists. The divine beauty of these places is transmitted to the reader in poetical words: 'One peculiarity with the lake is that at times when there are high waves near the shores the middle is calm and clear like a mirror reflecting the silvery dome of the Kailas if seen from the southern side or the Mandhata's giant heads if seen from the north-east. On full moon nights, with the full moon overhead, the scene is simply indescribable. At sunset the whole of the Kailas range on the north becomes a fiery region all of a sudden, throwing an observer into a spell of trance, and by the time he returns to consciousness he sees only the silvery Peak in his front. On another occasion, at the time of sunset, the whole of Mandhata catches fire and terrible flames with rolling columns of smoke rise in the west, only to be buried very soon into the depths of abysmal darkness; the scene is simply bewitching. Sometimes the morning sun gilds the Kailas and Mandhata Peak or pours forth molten gold

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on the Holy Lake ; still at other times the last lingering rays of the setting sun gild the snow ranges, the sight of which is very pleasing and soothing, both to the eyes and the mind. On another occasion the whole of the Kailas-Manas Region is completely covered with a thick blanket of snow from head to foot, making it impossible to point out which is which....... A moonlit night with a clear sky beggars description and one becomes simply spell-bound. Celestial is the scenery of the Himalayas and sublime are her snow-peaks. There are there some of the deepest and most beautiful gorges and valleys, the biggest and finest of glaciers and the highest of plateaus. The Swiss geologists Heim and Ganser in their book on Kailas entitled *Throne of the Gods* have remarked : "No Alpine gorge can seriously compare with majestic, almost incredible, transverse gorges of the Himalayas". Not only were our forefathers keen explorers of the Himalayas both in its Eastern region of Kailas-Manas and western region of Badari-Kedāra, but it is our national duty to establish once again caltural and scientific contacts with the Land of the mountains, the Mahā-Himavant. As Francis Younghusband has said : "Efforts should be made both in India and England to lead expeditions to the Himalayas to find out the best view-points of the mountains and make them known to the outside world. When these best shots would be discovered, they would be turned into and preserved as places of pilgrimage." (p. 5) The work to be done is three-fold, firstly, to study the available ancient geographical material in the Puranas and to identify the place names in a critical manner ; secondly to conduct an all-round scientific survey of the Himalayan region with respect to its geological formations as done by Heim and Ganser and by Burrard and Hayden (*A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalayas*), bird and animal life, botanical wealth, minerals, ethnography and anthropological data ; and thirdly, planned efforts at the highest level should be made to re-open the Him alayas fo rIndia by

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constructing roads, building health resorts, tourist-centres, educational institutions and research laboratories. Then alone the 1500 miles long stretches of the Himalayas would become really a part of our country and India would become truly couscious of the existence of this divine mountain the *devatātmā nagādhirāja* called Himalaya. Swami Pranavanand's book is the first serious attempt to make our people conscious of their 'Mountain King whose beauties have been sung so often by the poets. A bibliography of books on the Kailas and the Himalayas would have been found very useful and may be added in a second edition.

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ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji

Pages 1-610 ; Index 611-655 ; Royal Octavo size,

26 Plates ; Mc Millan & Co., 1947 ; Price 42 Sh.

(Rs. 34/2/-).

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, an author of distincton, has made solid contributions to the clarification of Ancient Indian thought and culture by his monumental writings. His unique position as an author consists in the fact that he has raised pertinent questions about ancient India's basic position in several spheres and with a rare erudition formulated an answer to them on the basis of the available material enriched by his own interpretation. The problem of the diversity of India, both physically and culturally, was raised and answered by him through one of his early brilliant book viz. "THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA" whose compelling truth was universally recognised and has since then been used as an effective argument to combat centrifugal tendencies. The argument about India's physical isolation with the country and her people hemmed in from all sides by the Himalayas and the ocean, was effectively met in the book "INDIAN MARITIME ACTIVITIES" richly documented from history and archaeology leading to the recognition of the fact that India was once a force in world cultue and that towards her east, north and west, her peoples had entered into free and frequent intercourse with other countries and established a vast and long-sustained cultural empire of unique value to civilization. His book on "LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA" was a reply to the so-called autocratic governance of India in the past which is shown as redeemed by democratic elements; broad-based and inviolable, which

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received country-wide recognition in the from of a host of self-governing institutions and village communities, forming part of the national tradition and continuing uninterrupted through many centuries from the Vedic age up to the eighteenth century.

In the present *magnum opus* Dr. Mookerji has with all the concentrated energy of his mind directed himself to find an answer to the great secret of India's long-lived cultural vitality and her alround creative role in the domain of civilization. In the title of the present book "ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION", is comprised the key-note to India's achievements in the domain of mind and spirit. The volume appropriately opens with select quotations from ancient texts, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, relating to the supreme power of the mind, ending with a quotation from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi in praise of Brahmacharya as the solid foundation of all creative works who sums up in his own inimitable style: "Hence perfectly controlled thought is itself power of the highest potency, and can become self-acting."

The whole course of Indian culture from the Ṛig-Veda right up to the flourishing days of the Nalanda University has been mapped out by the auther in terms of the ancient systems of education, which served as the perennial laboratory to produce great architects of culture, viz. thinkers, philosophers, teachers, scientists, poets and learned men, following a variety of disciplines in life but all united in the central fact of the growth and freedom of mind as an instrument of earnest truth-seeking. In all ages can we trace the vitality of the Indian educational system to one predominant factor, namely freedom from all kinds of crippling influences and artificial restrictions. It enjoyed a peaceful poise of its own maintaining throughout its economic independence and consequent freedom from shackles and strain. If India could restore to herself this aspect of her educational system she would be taking a

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decisive step to revitalise her mind and grapple with the problems of real life. We do not find in the Indian system standardised coaching, forced curricula, a frightening system of examinations and an unnatural economic strain on the pupil and the teacher. Education never became the predominant concern of the State. The entire society acting through millions of teachers, professors, artists and practical workmen made itself responsible for imparting education and training in many spheres and branches of knowledge. The fruit of education is seen not in the form of diplomas or service, but in the ever ready efficiency and knowledge of those who have been educated. *Tapas* was discovered as the basic method of learning which implied intense voluntary concentration of mental efforts in the pursuit of knowledge.

Dr. Mookerji finds that 'Learning in India through the ages had been prized and pursued not for its own sake but it was sought as a means of salvation or sekf-realisation, as the means to the highest end of life, namely *Mukti* or Emancipation.' It seeks to train a mind rather than to fill it with a store of learned lumber. Its method, therefore, is the method of Yoga, which is essentially the science and art of the reconstruction of self by discipline and meditation. The author rightly observes that in the ancient system the individual was the chief concern and centre of education, leading to an intimate relationship between the pupil and the teacher: "India has believed in the domestic system in both Industry and Education and not in the mechanical methods of large production in institutions and factories turning out standardised articles. the making of the man depends upon the human factor."

In this view India had long anticipated the latest western ideal of *paido-centric* educaton. The various schemes of educational reform in India must orient themselves to those regulative principel which have proved their validity by working through the ages through many a tension and crisis.

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A tree is known by its fruits and a glimqse of education in India can be had from her literature, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, which is remarkable in the literature of the world for its vastness, volume, variety, quality. and longevity.

Part I of the book, Chapters I-XII, deals with Brāhmaṇical education and part II, Chapters XIII-XXIV, with Buddhist education. The denominational distinction follows the differing literary sources and for each period Dr. Mookerjee builds a complete picture of the prevailing educational pattern going into details of its institutions and mechanism. Everywhere he takes recourse to key-words to enrich and explain his material. Perhaps no other cultural author in India has carried to such perfection the art of explaining his meaning through the "key-words". The technical terms reflect certain concepts and stored up traditions and were established as the outcome of important movements and trends of thought. They serve the same purpose in respect of Culture and Thought as blocks of carved stone in respect of material art. A liberal use of "key-words", therefore, has greatly enhanced the documentary value of the book.

Chapter I devoted to the elucidation of some Vedic concepts and terms like *Veda, Brahman, Mantra, Brāhmana, Yajña, Purusha, Prajāpati,* explains *Yajña,* the centre of the Vedic system, as education of man in self-sacrifice.

Chapter II deals with Ṛigvedic education, a highly perfected system of which the best fruit was the Ṛigveda itself. The oldest book of India, the Ṛigveda does not mark merely the dawn of its culture but rather its meridian. This great book contains within itself the seeds and sources from which the entire course of Hindu thought through the ages has derived and flowed in so many streams. The conservation of the text of Ṛigveda, its evolution and contents, all bespeak of intense literary activity. when the highest knowledga was thus built up by and stored in hymns, there were necessarily evolved the educational methods by which such knowledge could be acquired, conserved and transmitted to posterity. 'Class-mates equal in their senses like the

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eye and the ear, betray inequality in respect of their power of mind.' A clear conception of the three grades of students, of high, medium and low ability is definitely indicated. Naturally more importance was placed on the understanding of texts than on mere recitation. The system of *Upanayana*, i. e. initiation of the Brahmachārins studying in the domestic school of the teacher, had been evolved at this early age. A rich summary of Ṛigvedic thought forms the highlight of this chapter giving an assemblage of texts, affirming the identity of the One and the Many. Of women seers a list of 23 Ṛishilkas designated as Brahma-vādinīs is given from the Ṛigveda.

In Chapter III a treatment of education in the other three Vedas is given showing the evolution of specialised studies of music and other applied sciences. The Atharva-veda presents a complete picture of the system of initiated students. We also begin to discover the development of elaborate ritual which in its turn influenced the ideals of education.

In Chapter IV dealing with later Vedic education a clear and classified account of the Vedic literature relating to the *Śākhās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads* is given. A variety of institutions for propagation of learning had grown in this age like the *charaṇas, parishads* and *gotras*. The *charaṇas* organized as autonomous colleges founded by some outstanding teacher whose tradition was continued by generations of pupils, were the greatest of the Vedic academic institutions. The whole fabric of education as envisaged in the Brāhmaṇas, Yāska and Pāṇini was rooted in the Vedic *charaṇa*. The *parishads* as the innermost academic bodies of a *charaṇa* were responsible for the cultivation and propagation of scientific subjects like Phonetics, Etymology, Grammar and Law. An elaborate code of the rules of studentship governing the inmates of the colleges is given. A large number of distinguished teachers comprising 63 names with short biographical details is recorded. But the most important factor leading to the

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growth of learning was the method of mutual discussion, disputation and open conferences, oft-times summoned by a great king, which took the form of a national gathering or Congress in which the representative thinkers of the land belonging to various Schools were invited to meet and exchange their views. One such Congress of Ṛishis (the first of its kind in history) is reported in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad as convened by King Janaka of Videha to which he invited all the Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañchāla country. Sanskrit as the spoken language of the time, was the medium of instruction and as F.W. Thomas has pointed out, "was the language of public religious rites, of domestic ceremonies, of education and of science" (J.R.A.S., 1904). The best Sanskrit of the times was the current speech of the Kuru-Pañchāla country.

Chapter V deals with the period of Sūtra literature in which new forms and types of literary activity had grown in response to changing social, religious and political conditions. The period marked bv an outburst of intellectual activity is one of the most brilliant epochs of Indian literary history, when new sciences like *Chhanda* and *Vyākaraṇa* were reaching their highest culmination in independent treatises apart from the circumscribed atmosphere of the Vedic Schools. The Brahmacharya system of education which of long had been an ideal, now attained its most elaborate and rigorous development. We find references to plurality of teachers and students, some following the ideal of life-long studentship and others getting themselves enrolled with a limited objective or only to attend seasonal courses.

Chapter VI follows with an account of education in the time of Pāṇini. The works of this great teacher, who was himself a product of the intellectual discipline of the Sūtra period, throw a flood of light on the literature, methods of learning and the educational institutions of the fifth contury B. C. Succintly presented and well

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marshalled, this evidence constitutes one of the most richly documented chapters of the volume. Chapter VII deals with the educational background of the Artha-śāstra or the political and legal aspects of education including such topics as litigation between teacher and pupil and rights of property in respect of gains of learning. Chapter IX, the longest in the volume, deals with the philosophical Sūtra literature containing an exhaustive treatment of the spiritual discipline developed under each system of Indian philosophy, based on a two-fold method, namely the method of faith and that of reason. Chapter X sifts the Epics, especially the Mahābhārata with respect to both priestly and princely education including military training.

Industrial and vocational education centring round various arts and crafts is next treated with a list of the traditional 64 *kalās* compiled from various sources. This is followed in Chapter XII by an aecount of the old centres of education and typical institutions. A note-worthy instance is that of a college in South India with a hostel for students and a hospital established in 1062 A. D. where students were given free food and lights. The hospital had 15 beds and a staff of one physician, one surgeon, two servants for fetching drugs, fuel and for other work for hospital, two maid-servants to serve as nurses and one more servant for the whole establishment. It was also equipped with a store of medicines, such as *Harītakī* of different kinds, *Bilvādighṛita*, *Vajra-kalpa*. *Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa* and varieties of *taila* or oils. Another instance worth noting was the gift of a whole village for supporting 308 learned Brāhmaṇas in their sacred avocation of research and teaching. Patronage and establishment of such literary colonies and learned settlements is an ideal worthy of emulation in the future educational set up of our country.

Part II covers the subject of Buddhist education. It opens with a vivid account of the intellectual ferment that ushered in the era of Buddhism. It was a part of a powerful

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gnostic movement in which hundreds of great teachers of thought both Brāhmaṇical and Śramaṇaic participated. The Theists, Atheists, Annihilationists, Materialists like the Lokāyatikas, and the Determinists like the followers of Mankhali Gosala took part in the deep intellectual unrest marked by an all-pervasive spirit of questioning, scepticism and even cynicism. The author paints against this chequered canvas a picture of the salient contributions of the Buddha with regard to Self-culture and spiritual discipline.

Chapter XIV deals with the Buddhist system of education according to Vinaya. The one handicap of this system was that it did not offer any educational opportunities apart from or independently of the monasteries based on Pravrajyā which carried seeds of its own weakness. The Brāhmaṇical system on the other hand was predominantly what may be called the domestic system of education under which the individval teacher's home was the school. In the Buddhist system the home was superseded by the monastery. Buddhist education began with the destruction of domestic ties as the starting-point. Chastity and poverty, the twin bases of monastic life were worked in a most subtle manner into a host of hair-splitting regulations and ordinances, e. g. rules about monks' food and begging, his alms-bow l and dietary, manner of eating and accepting invitations (Chapter XV).

The next two chapters dealing with Residence and Instruction carry further the details of monastic life and tuition. One of the greatest decisions of the Buddha relates to his ruling about the language in which his word was to be learnt : " I allow you, O Bhikkhus ! to learn the word of the Buddha each in his own dialect." This was a revolutionary change which gave a new impulse and impetus to the study of the vernacular dialects of the country and facilitated the spread of Buddha's message to distant and different countries.

A factor of vital importance was that of general, non-

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religious, or secular education for the laity and the public at large who had to depend upon the systems and centres of education that extended in the country outside the Buddhist monasteries. An account of this based on the available evidence in Buddhist literature and the Jātakas follows in the next two chapters, the one from the Jātakas being replete with extremely interesting material.

Chapters XXI to XXIII are each devoted to an account of the educational system as recorded by the three Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien, Yuan-Chwang and I-Tsing. In this period (5 th to 7th century A. D.) India was the educational nerve-centre of the whole of Asia with the University of Nalanda serving as an international focus supporting a population of about 10,000 students and 1,500 teachers. Yuan-Chwang paints a glorious picture as he saw it at Nalanda and other places. It was in effect a bold experiment for the civilization of mankind in Asia. The number of monasteries seen by him was approximately 5,000 peopled by a monkish population of 2,12,130 souls as computed by the author from the Pilgrim's records. These monasteries justified themselves by producing some of the greatest leaders of Buddhism. Some of them as those of Kashmir were also renowned for their libraries and stock of rare books. The course of study at Nalanda for the primary stage from the age of 7 to 16 was drawn up with an eye on practical utility, comprising the five essential subjects of grammar, basic art, medicine, logic and Adhyātma-vidyā or Spiritual science, offering an ideal combination of the elements of both secular and religious knowledge and of philosophical and practical subjects. It provided the necessary basis of a good general culture upon which specialization was built up in the higher education of the monasteries. The last chapter dealing with the Universities contains a lively account of the far-famed University of Nalanda with special reference to its endowments, standard of scholarship, range of studies, distinguished teachers, academical regulations including arrangements for delivering 100 lectures per day, democratic management

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and exchange of scholars with foreign countries, closing with an account of the archaeological remains of the University and of its art.

The volume ends with a copious index of forty-five closely printed pages. It is illustrated with select scenes of hermitages from the old art of Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathura showing venerable teachers and their pupils, the Bharhut scene on plate V with the teacher Dīgha-tapasī instructing his pupils, being the most charming.

The Volume is a sumptuous McMillan production, excellently got up. Besides being a monument to the industry of the learned writer, it constitutes one of the most delightful volumes on India's cultural history. As a general and unified account of the subject of ancient Indian education, the book will long remain a standard work of reference. The unstinted excellence of the book makes one regret that the authcr should have omitted from his purview the evidence available in Jain religious and secular literature regarding the vital educational discipline cultivated by them.

V. S. Agrawala.

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M. M. NAGAR, M. A., U. P. E. S., *Curator;*
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

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